August 2, 1971

Mr. Marvin Wall
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Marvin:

It was more than thoughtful of you to write. You should not be distressed. Things have a way of coming to an end.

I certainly hope we can remain in touch. Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 2, 1971

Mr. Will Campbell
Director
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness. In the months ahead I look forward to a visit.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 2, 1971

Mr. Leslie E. Phillabaum
Assistant Director and Editor
Louisiana State University Press
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Mr. Phillabaum:

We would like to use sections from George Mitchell's book BLOW MY BLUES AWAY in a forthcoming issue of SRC's quarterly magazine NEW SOUTH. Specifically we are interested in Chapter 5, pages 77 to 79, cutting off at the end of the second paragraph on that page, picking up again on page 81 through the second paragraph on page 82 then continuing from the last paragraph on page 83 through the end of the chapter. Please let us know such fee as would be involved.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 2, 1971

Mr. El Larry Dickens
Department of State Government
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Dear Mr. Dickens:

I think your article is publishable and we would like it for the NEW SOUTH now in the works. There are a couple of repeitive paragraphs toward the end which, with your permission I will fix and let you see on galleys. I have particular reference to the last paragraph on page 15 through page 17 in which we repeat the theme about working class whites several times. My "fixing" would mean a little slicing here and there. I do have one substative question. On page 12 and 13 it seems to me when we raise the question of Catholicism without relating the matter to attitudes, but really in a king of off-hand way. Could you explain the point better in a few additional sentences, or would it be better to eliminate the reference? I look forward to hearing from you shortly, for I am in the process of getting copy ready for the printer.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 2, 1971

Mr. Bernard L. Friedberg
Senior Associate
New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Mr. Friedberg:

For your records enclosed are copies of our audit and program report for the calendar year 1970. Copies of these were submitted earlier to the Foundation. We have been determined by the Internal Revenue Service to be a private foundation.

If you need additional information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 2, 1971

Mr. J. A. Parker
President
Alabama Exchange Bank
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Allen:

Thank you, most sincerely, for your thoughtful letter. I have not only cherished your friendship, but have been deeply appreciative of your loyalty and support to SRC.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 3, 1971

Mr. John J. Ingle, Jr.
Housing Opportunities Made Equal, Inc.
710 W. North Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603

Dear Mr. Ingle:

Thank you for the list of private open housing organizations. We are incorporating the information into our regional listing of similar organizations.

Enclosed is a housing study recently released by the Council.

Art Campbell, co-director of the Council's Housing and Planning Program, and I are very interested in your suggestions for a state-wide and/or regional private effort to end housing discrimination.

We are anxious to discuss with you how the Council might compliment and support the kind of program you have in mind and how our two organizations might cooperate. Either Art or I will be in touch with you soon to see if we can get together with you sometimes this month.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

August 3, 1971

Mr. L. H. Cave
Finance and Accounting Officer
Mobile District, Corps of Engineers
P. O. Box 2288
Mobile, Alabama 36628

Dear Mr. Cave:

I received your letter today requesting the payment of a past due bill. In checking my files, there seems to be some discrepancy in billing.

Enclosed is the letter and bill that Mr. Sontag sent along with the maps requested. Also enclosed is a copy of the check that was sent for that bill.

The discrepancy is that I received a bill number 01-2-0005 for $2.50, and you are sending bill number 12-1-216 for $5.00. Please check on this to see if some mistake has been made.

Sincerely,

Edward J. Cazayoux
Housing and Planning Program

EJC:mv
Encls.

August 3, 1971

Mr. Lowell Dickerson
Andrews Housing Consultants
673 Capitol Avenue, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

Dear Lowell:

Horace Barker, who is currently working with SRC's Housing and Planning Program, has indicated to me that he is seeking employment with your firm to work with you on the Athens Model Cities Program. I would highly recommend him for such a position.

I believe his efforts in producing two major publications for SRC on the subjects of education and housing have given him a sharp understanding of two problems you probably will encounter in your work with the Athens program. Of course, the publications themselves will attest to his writing and analytical abilities better than I can.

Mr. Barker has done an outstanding job for the SRC and the executive director, Paul Anthony, wholeheartedly supports this recommendation.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC/mv

August 4, 1971

Mrs. Elizabeth Tornquist
1000 N. Duke, #26
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Elizabeth:

I do want it. But I will need it no later than a week from now.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

August 4, 1971

Mr. Donald Holley
Department of History
Arkansas A & M College
College Heights, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Holley:

Before he left the Council Reese Cleghorne passed on to me your paper on the New Deal resettlement program, which you sent him some time back. I would like to consider it for New South publication, but I wonder if it has already been published elsewhere?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor of Publications

REA:h

August 4, 1971

Director of Information
Southern Natural Gas Company
The Watts Building
Birminghem, Alabama

Dear Sir:

I am inquiring about the feasibility of supplying natural gas to a proposed subdivision site in Sumter County, Alabama. The site is 273 acres, and is proposed to contain at least 100 single family dwelling units within the next five years; the immediate need would be for 30 units within the next 8 to 12 months.

Our site is approximately midway between the Sumter County towns of Epes and Gainesville, and approximately 12 miles due north of Livingston; it lies within Range 2 West and Township 21 North.

I note by the enclosed Alabama gas pipeline diagram that your company serves the towns of Eutaw in Greene County and Livingston in Sumter. These two towns would be the closest gas distribution points to our proposed subdivision site, shown in the diagram with a red dot ( ).

Could your company serve our site with natural gas? If so, would you also please estimate what you feel would be the consumption for 30 and for 100 single-family dwelling units in BTU's, and what the cost would be, at present rates, per amount of BTU's.

Your help will be greatly appreciated. If I have not written to the correct office, would you please forward this letter to the appropriate office?

Sincerely yours,

Andrew P. Gray
Housing and Planning Program

APG:mv
enc.

August 4, 1971

Mr. J. H. Chenery
Vice President
Alabama Gas Corporation
1918 North 1st Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Chenery:

Thank you very much for your reply to my first letter. The demographic data sheet you sent was most helpful to our project. I wonder if I may ask for additional information?

I am inquiring about the feasibility of supplying natural gas to a proposed subdivision site in Sumter County, Alabama. The site is 273 acres, and is proposed to contain at least 100 single-family dwelling units within the next five years; the immediate need would be for 30 units within the next 8 to 12 months.

Our site is approximately midway between the Sumter County towns of Epes and Gainesville, and approximately 12 miles due north of Livingston; it lies within Range 2 West and Township 21 North.

Could your company serve our site with natural gas? If so, could you also please estimate what you feel would be the consumption for 30 and for 100 single-family dwelling units in BTU's, and what the cost would be, at present rates, per amount of BTU's.

Again, your help will be greatly appreciated. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew P. Gray
Housing and Planning Program

APG:mv

August 5, 1971

Mr. E. C. Harrison
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70813

Dear Mr. Harrison:

We have read your article with a great deal of interest. I frankly think you advance some very good and sound ideas. I am afraid, though, that the style of presentation is a little too labored for the general reader. I wish this weren't so. Written with more precision, illustrating some of your points with real people talking, eliminating some of the abstractions, could make this a significant piece of work. I will retain your duplicate copy and if you are interested in making revisions along these lines we can correspond about it further.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr:lb

Enclosure

August 5, 1971

Mr. Gilbert Ware
Social Science Department
Drexel University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Mr. Ware:

Please be patient with us a while longer on your manuscript. It has now gone through several readings and we will be writing you again shortly.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 5, 1971

Mr. Clay Cochran
Chairman of the Board
National Rural Housing Coalition
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Clay:

As you may know by now, I plan to leave the Council sometimes during the next few months. This being the case, I think it only makes sense for you to find someone else to fill the slot I have held. Hopefully, it will be someone who has no less respect than I for your work and its importance, but who will have more time to give assistance to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 5, 1971

Mr. Will Campbell
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

I have just received a copy of your Eulogy for Ernest Curry. It is honest, and it is poetry. Having read it, I can understand how much this meant to the family.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 5, 1971

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Executive Director
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Jane Lee:

Thank you for the thoughtful note. There is a slight chance I shall be in New York within the next two weeks, and I very much hope this does not conflict with your vacation schedule.

Periodically, as I said in my letter to Raymond Wheeler, directors move on from the Council, as indeed they must. I have every confidence in the ability of SRC leadership to make a good choice of a successor, and in fact they are already very seriously at work in that process.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 5, 1971

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Star Route
Edgemont, Arkansas 72044

Dear Ed:

The reason I haven't written to say congratulations on your break-away (and to express guarded envy) is that it has taken me all this time to make all those decisions needed to fill out your postcard.

Seriously, Glenda and I were both pleased for you all. The place sounds idyllic and the best thing, you all don't sound the note of moral rectitude that so many of those who go off into the wilderness seem to.

Now I want to try to lure you for a brief time out of paradise. South Today is looking for somebody to do a piece on catfish farming in the South. The publication would pay travel expenses and some small stipiend for the piece. And who knows--you might get inspired to start a catfish farm of your own (though I find them morally reprehensible). I'm enclosing Roy Reed's contribution to the literature of the subject. If you're interested (and if you can find a phone) call Kitty Terjen collect here. (Assume you remember the phone number--and address if you can't find a phone.)

Kitty and Betsy Fancher are, by way of organizational news, running South Today since Reese went off to run the editorial page of the Charlotte Observer. Paul Gaston is going back this month to run the University of Virginia (or parts of it), and Paul Anthony has announced his intention to run off and not be executive director any more--which leaves only a few of us still here. I am thinking of running for mayor of Atlanta.

Glenda and I were in Mississippi and Louisiana last month but didn't get into Arkansas. The next time we go to Timpson, though, I hope we can take the scenic route one or the other ways and find you all. In the meantime good luck--and I mean it--and I hope you will bite the catfish lure.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

Enclosure

August 5, 1971

Mr. Wendell Paris
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
P. O. Box 95
Epes, Alabama 35460

Dear Wendy:

Would you take a look at the enclosed list of questions and see if you can find some of the answers for us. Or, perhaps you could give us the name of someone to contact. We would greatly appreciate it.

Hope the farm and other projects are going okay.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

Enclosure

August 6, 1971

Mr. Noyes Collinson
1113 Moores Mill Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Noyes:

Thank you for your thoughtful and generous letter. I shall see to it that your availability is known, and will understand your philosophy about continued work. I must admit, however, that the thought of moving to the British Isles intrigues me to no end. Should you make such a move, please let me know where you are.

It has been a real pleasure working with you during these years. With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 6, 1971

Mr. D. John Heyman
President
New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear John:

Thank you for the thoughtfulness in writing about my departure. I assume this letter will arrive while you are on vacation. It will be at least several months before my departure, and in the interim I am, naturally, interested in talking with you about support from the Foundation for the current year.

It has been a real pleasure and the matter of high personal satisfaction to work with you, and I trust that it will not cease with my departure.

The Personnel Committee is already hard at work and responsibly so. I honestly do not know whom they will choose, but I am confident it will be a good choice.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 6, 1971

Mr. N. Jerold Cohen
3100 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jerry:

Thanks for sharing your time, advice, and insights with Art and me.

I am enclosing a copy of the Council's latest report: "Equal Housing Opportunities in the South."

I will send you a draft of the revised bylaws as soon as it is ready.

Sincerely yours,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv
Encl.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

Reading File

August 6, 1971

Mr. Henry J. Miller
Alston, Miller & Gaines
C & S National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Miller:

Art Campbell and I enjoyed our conversation with you yesterday morning. We appreciate your taking time to hear our views on the problems of housing discrimination.

As per your request, I am enclosing a booklet describing the legal action program of a group of Chicago lawyers, supported by a grant from HUD and by members of the Chicago business community. During the past two years, the lawyers have filed more than 140 suits on behalf of individuals subjected to discriminatory practices. More than 90 per cent of these cases have resulted in decisions or consent orders favorable to the plaintiffs.

The goal of the Legal Action Program (listed on page 14) may be of special interest, particularly items number 2 and 3. I think you will agree that the establishment of a similar, widely publicized program in Atlanta would benefit our community.

I am also enclosing a copy of HUD's proposed project selection criteria for the 235, 236, and public housing programs. As you pointed out in our conversation, the absence of sufficient federal manpower to enforce these standards make state and local action imperative.

If we can be of further assistance to you or your committee, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv
Enclosures

~~[illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

Reading File

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

August 6, 1971

Mr. Bob Bankhead
Route 1
Camp Fellowship
Waterloo, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bankhead:

Good to have talked with you the other day about our School Desegregation Training Session. By the time this reaches you you will have already talked with Leon Hall.

Enclosed is a check for $250 as an advance on the expenses for the training institute.

We will definitely want the health and accident insurance coverage through your firm for fifty (50) people for twelve (12) days beginning August 14, 1971.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.--Check

August 9, 1971

Mr. Bruce Gruber
Assistant Regional Director for Housing
National Urban League
136 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bruce:

Thank you for your comments on the housing report and for the up-to-date stats.

Sincerely yours,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

August 10, 1971

Dr. Robert Coles
Harvard University Health Services
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about my resignation. I do plan to take as much as a year to contemplate my naval and to try some writing. Frank Slaughter had better move over - possibly even Robert Coles.

I will probably be here for some months until the new director is selected and takes over. The office will always know of my whereabouts, although I'll believe you will stop in Atlanta when I see you.

My deepest affection to you all.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 10, 1971

Mr. Allan N. Goldberg
1146 Palafox Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Dear Mr. Goldberg:

Regrettably, we do not at this time have any openings at the Council. We will, however, keep your resume on file and share it with any agency that might have an opening.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 10, 1971

Dr. James W. Gilbert
Medical Director
Upper Savannah Health District
P. O. Box 797
Greenwood, South Carolina 29646

Dear Dr. Gilbert:

We have attempted to interest several physicians in the position which you mentioned to us in your letter. I have been hopeful that a member of the University of North Carolina Medical School Faculty would be interested. Regrettably, he is not. We will continue to keep your need in mind, and will certainly inform you if any candidate becomes available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 10, 1971

Mr. G. E. Breger, Director
Bureau of Urban and Regional Affairs
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C. 29208

Dear Mr. Breger:

Your letter is now being handled by a member of our Research Department, and you should hear from her shortly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 10, 1971

Dean Joseph Hendrick
c/o Mrs. C. W. Hendrick
Woodland, Georgia

Dear Dean Hendrick:

The Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project is conducting a ten-day residential School Desegregation Training Institute for fifty Black and White college and high school students from throughout the South on August 15 through August 25. The areas of skill training and discussion are the result of nine months of extensive travel and work on the part of SDP's staff and student volunteers with high school and college students in the nine southern states.

The Training Institute will be held at Camp Fellowship in Waterloo, South Carolina. The Camp is approximately 11 miles from Greenwood, South Carolina on highway 72 and approximately 70 miles from Columbia and/or Greenville, South Carolina. The Camp telephone number is (803) 441-3304 or 3400. Appropriate highway maps and plane schedules via Southern Airways are attached. Accomodations at the Holiday Inn in Greenwood, South Carolina or at the Camp. Please inform us if you will need motel reservations and we will make the necessary arrangements.

If possible, could you bring a brief vita sheet with you for the student's packets.

The enclosed material may be of some benefit in planning your route. The training design and schedule for Wednesday, August 18 remains unchanged. I think we agreed that you would cover the section on the utilization and/or mobilization of resources on a college campus. Something exemplified by the various programs at Mercer.

If additional information is needed, either Leon Hall or I can be reached at the Southern Regional Council through Friday, August 13. We will be at Camp Fellowship from Saturday, August 14 through Wednesday, August 25.

We sincerely appreciate your interest and assistance. We hope this will be a mutually rewarding experience. If we can be of further assistance, please contact us immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence E. Wright, Jr.
Director
Community Organization Division

CEW,Jr:mv

Encls.

Augusta10, 1971

Mrs. Eleanor Eaton
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Eleanor:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful note.

I plan to take up some months to travel and to try to write. And, it will be at least several months before I actually leave SRC.

It has been a real pleasure working with you, and I trust we will have many future occasions to do so.

My warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 10, 1971

Mr. N. Jerold Cohen
3100 First National Bank Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jerry:

Art and I will appreciate your comments on how to improve the enclosed set of bylaws for the Metropolitan Atlanta Housing Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

Enclosure

August 11, 1971

Ray Jenkins
Editor, Editorial Page
Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Ala. 36102

Dear Ray:

Even though Reese has gone on to greener pastures, SOUTH TODAY is alive and well and hoping you'll still do us that piece on George Wallace. We won't be needing it till October 1, but then we'll really be needing it.

Please call collect if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

August 11, 1971

Ms. Lois Muss
321 W. 94th Street
Apt. 2 N. W.
New York, N. Y. 10025

Dear Lois:

Under separate cover I am returning the contact sheets to you. Christopher Harris called right in the middle of production, but, believe it or not, I managed to make a good selection. The prints arrived today and I am very pleased with them and the terms he gave us.

Well your manuscript has been edited, but hasn't been re-typed. Our secretary is on vacation and I've farmed it out to someone else's. Apparently, however, the job is low on her priority list. Betsy Fancher did the editing and she told me she was able to do most of the cutting internally. So probably by next week we'll have a copy up to you for your approval. Just bear with us.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

August 11, 1971

Mrs. Cornelia Morris
987 N. Barksdale St.
Memphis, Tenn. 38107

Dear Mrs. Morris:

In case you haven't heard Reese Cleghorn has left us to be editor of the editorial pages of the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER. We certainly do miss him.

I hope you will continue to send me the EVERGREEN NEWS. I have enjoyed every issue and it was great fun writing about your assocation. I wish it well.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

August 11, 1971

Christopher Harris
1326 Lowerline Street
New Orleans, La. 70118

Dear Chris:

Thank you for the prints. And I want to apologise for being out of sorts when you called. The September issue is now at the printers and I think I will slowly regain my sanity.

I took another look at the contacts and would like for you to send me one more print: sheet 4, frame 12-12A. And, if by chance you have in your files a picture of some sugar cane, I'd really like to have a print of that too.

Hope you had a good vacation. That's exactly what I'm needing about now.

Sincerely

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

August 11, 1971

Mr. Charles Cole
950 Draughon Avenue
Nashville, Tenn. 37204

Dear Mr. Cole:

As you may know Reese Cleghorn has left us to become editor of the editorial pages of the CHARDOTTE OBSERVER. Betsy Fancher and I are now in charge of SOUTH TODAY and we are very excited about its future.

We hope that you will still send us your piece on open housing in Nashville. We can possibly run it in our October issue (deadline September 1) and more probably in our November issue (October 1 deadline).

Let us know what you think,

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

August 11, 1971

Mr. Reg Stuart
Newsroom
WSIX
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Reg:

Well the paste-ups are at the printers and I am regaining, bit-by-bit, my sanity.

If I can find them, enclosed are proofs of the Un.Ga. black recruitment story. If I can't I'll send you some in a few days.

This all goes to say that we're really counting on your Tennessee State story for our October issue and would like to have your manuscript as soon as we can get it and no later than September 1. This is so I can enjoy Labor Day weekend without having to sweat SOUTH TODAY.

And while you're at it, please send your social security number and a short paragraph describing yourself: present occupation, birth place, etc.

Much obliged,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

Enclosure

August 11, 1971

Mr. Ed King
c/o Gandhi Peace Foundation
221 Rouse Avenue
New Delhi, India

Dear Mr. King:

I have been reading the manuscript you sent Pat some time ago, and for the issue of New South now in production I would like to use the chapter "Lohia, Gandhi and SNCC" which comes from the section "Winter, Spring 1964 of LIFE IN MISSISSIPPI." Is this okay with you?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 11, 1971

Mrs. Virginia Durr
Route 4 Box 300 G
Weteumpka, Alabama 36092

Dear Virginia:

I was glad to hear that you have a contract from Doubleday. That should take the uncertainty out of what you do in the future. Congratulations. I don't know that I really did anything except publish and encourage--but thanks for your kind comments. They had to like what you did--and the work was yours, not Terkel's and not mine.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

August 11, 1971

Dr. Walter Hollander, Jr.
531 Dogwood Drive
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

Dear Dr. Hollander:

It was possible for me to reach Dr. Raymond Wheeler last evening. While Dr. Wheeler feels it would be intriguing to explore having a physician on our staff functioning in a program capacity, and while he, like I, is more than appreciative of the generosity of your offer and the potential for program results, he does, however, feel strongly that a "lame duck" administration should not plan specific programs and staffing for an incoming administration. On reflection I have to agree with him since I suffered some of these difficulties when first I came into this position.

We are very hopeful that a new director will be selected within the next six weeks. When that is done, I will turn over the file on this matter to him and suggest that he get in touch with you.

Thank you again for your interest. I do hope something satisfactory can be developed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 11, 1971

Mr. William L. Taylor
The Center of National Policy Review
School of Law
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C. 20017

Dear Bill:

It was thoughtful of you to write.

I will remain here for some months until the new director - when chosen - is appointed and can take over. After that I plan to take some months with a presumptuous effort in doing some writing before making a decision on the next job.

I hope we can keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 11, 1971

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Editor-Publisher
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida 32014

Dear Herbert:

Henriene Banks has been good enough to share with me a copy of your comments in the "memo from the editor" column. Thank you for the more than generous observations.

For a great many years you have been a strong friend and supporter, and I cannot tell you how much I appreciate that. It has been my honor to work with you - and in fact for you. I hope we can keep in close touch.

My very warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 11, 1971

Mrs. Henriene Banks
125 Keech Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Henriene:

Thank you for sharing with me Herbert's comments, and for your own thoughtful and generous letter. It has been a privilege to work with you over these years, and a warm personal experience.

With the very warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 11, 1971

Dr. Ralph M. Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for the more than generous comments in your letter. This is a thoughtful decision on my part based strongly on the belief that periodic changes for the Council is essential.

It has been a great pleasure over these years to know you and Georgia. I certainly hope we will continue to keep in touch.

My warmest regards to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

August 11, 1971

Rev. Sister Imagene Williams
Church of What's Happening Now
162 Tennessee Ave., N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Rev. Williams:

Thank you so much for writing us. I am touched by what you have done with your 28 years and what you plan to do with your future.

At present we have spent all the money we can spend on original articles, but we will gladly consider reprinting an article which has already been written about you. Why not send us a copy of all three articles that you mentioned and we will see if they are suitable for SOUTH TODAY.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

M-E-M-O-R-A-N-D-U-M

To: Owen Kelly

From: Arthur C. Campbell

Date: August 11, 1971

Re: Housing Survey

We have decided to conduct the pilot housing survey in Twiggs and Jones Counties, Georgia. These two counties are adjacent to Bibb County in which Macon is located.

Pursuant to our previous conversation, we will pay your expenses (i.e. hotel, meals, transportation). We can arrange to advance to you, some funds to cover your expenses. This should be done before the end of the day, Friday, August 13th.

I understand that you will conduct said survey on August 16-18. Your inquiry should be aimed at gaining the following information:

(1) What housing studies have been done on the county

(2) Political attitudes toward public housing

(3) Individuals frustrated in their efforts to obtain Farmers' Home Administration loans

(4) Individuals/organizations indicating a desire to sponsor low-income housing

(5) Note existence of job training programs/economic development programs

(6) Indication of financing available through local sources

(7) How cheaply contractor can build houses/how many in what length of time

(8) Manpower in local FmHA office/number of people who qualify for loans than don't use them

(9) Zoning controls - where?/Building permits - where?

(10) Real Estate taxes in county

(11) Existing plans to build housing -- government/non-government

As of now, we still do not have names of individuals to visit. However, we suggest that you make the following contacts:

Middle Georgia Area Planning and Development Commission
Macon, Georgia

Farmers' Home Administration Office

Tax Assessor in each County

Representative of Community Organizations (e.g. CAPS)

Local General Contractors

Real Estate Loan Officer in local Bank

* * *

ACC:mv

August 12, 1971

Ms. Jane Maxwell
Assistant to the Editor
The New York Magazine
207 E. 32nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10016

Dear Ms. Maxwell:

Sometime back (I think it was June) you ran a piece on domestic workers in the city. Would you be so kind as to send me a copy of that article and bill me at the above address.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/ek

August 12, 1971

J. Mitchell Reames
Library
Frances Marion College
Florence, S. C. 29501

Dear Mitchell:

Things have really been popping around here! Reese announced his resignation two weekssbefore he left to be editor of the editorial pages of the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER. That left me as managing editor and Betsy Fancher as associate editor. Then Betsy went to the hoppital with back trouble, and if that wasn't enough, Rugh Howard, our trusted aide, got down in the back too.

By some minor miracle the September issue is now at the printers and I am slowly regaining my sanity. Can you wait awhile for the author index? We only have volume two which we developed in response to our survey of librarians last year, and it, I must admit, is onlyiin a rough draft right now.

Betty and I had a most pleasant visit in early June. We have, as I am sure she has told you, been talking about doing a piece on your father. But, golly, with all the hell that's broken loose of late, it'll probably be doomsday before I get back to my writing. So that won't sound as pessimistic as it appears, I add that I am a great believer in doomsday.

My very best to you and your family,

Kitty Terjen

KT/ek

August 12, 1971

Mr. Al Ulmer
Box 204
Vilas, N. C. 28692

Dear Al:

I have a picture of your mountain pasted on the wall by my typewriter, so it is more than often that I think of you all.

I don't know how fast news travels in the mountains, but perhaps you already know Reese has left us to be editor of the editorial pages of the CHARLOTTE OBSERVER. That leaves Betsy Fancher and me holding the reins of SOUTH TODAY--has womens liberation at last arrived at SRC? Dunno.

I was wondering if maybe after the beets are in you'd beiinterested in doing us a piece on co-ops. Sort of a review of the state of the art. I had a long talk with Bill Peace (of the late Southern Rural Project) las week about how OEO funding has not provided the needed capital, just enough to cover administrative costs, and how OEO is now saying co-ops aren't working, etc. I'm thinking in terms of 4,000 words, or 8,000 words, which ever will do the job by January 1. What do you think?

I enjoyed reading your articles in Will Campbell's magazine that I can never spell.

My best to Robin and Callemare (did I spell that one right?),

Kitty

KT/ek

August 12, 1971

Mrs. Deborah Greenberg
Executive Director
The Norman Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Debbie:

It was a real pleasure to have such a long visit with you and Lucinda last week.

Enclosed is a proposal for support for this year.

While in a sense it is superfluous, it is also necessary for me to say to you how enjoyable I have found our relationship, and how deeply I have appreciated your support and understanding.

Every good wish on the new career.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

August 12, 1971

Mr. James L. Lindsey
343 Osborne Terrace
Newark, N. J. 07112

Dear Mr. Lindsey:

Regrettably we do not have any openings at this time. Should any vacancies occur, we will be back in touch with you.

Thank you for thinking of the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 12, 1971

Mr. Ben Price
3619 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia 22101

Dear Ben:

Please know how much we share your loss.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Reading File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 12, 1971

Mr. William Allison
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allison:

This letter will confirm the arrangement that we have made to borrow fifty blankets from E. O. A. The blankets will be used at a training institute for high school and college students who are concerned about interpersonal and intergroup relations in desegregated schools. The institute runs from August 15 to 25.

We will assume responsibility for picking up and returning the blankets. They will be returned on or before September 8, 1971. We agree to replace blankets which are lost or damaged. They will be returned after having been cleaned.

We wish to express our heartfelt appreciation for your timely cooperation in this matter. It will aid immeasurably in making a very constructive program possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

August 13, 1971

Mr. Donald Holley
University of Arkansas at Monticello
Monticello, Arkansas 71635

Dear Mr. Holley:

Thank you for your note of August 11. I would like to have had the article I wrote you about for the current issue and I wonder at the possibility of our still using it since I doubt that New South and Agricultural History have many joint readers. We would, of course, mention that it had appeared elsewhere. Failing that, how about sending us another chapter from your book for the same issue. We are close to deadline and will need to know soon.

A copy of New South is enclosed. I think you can see from it that we go for both the scholarly and the popular.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Reading File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

August 16, 1971

Service Employees International Union
Nineteen Hundred Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

ATTENTION: PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

Please place Mr. Via's name on your complimentary mailing list to receive the Service Employee newspaper. The correct mailing address is:

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Labor Program

August 13, 1971

Mr. Steve Suitts
Civil Liberties Union of Alabama
P.O. Box 1972
University, Alabama, 35486

Dear Mr. Suitts:

I appreciate so much your letting us see Mr. Earl's verse. I wish I were a better judge of its merit. I sense great feeling back of what he writes, but perhaps knowing the circumstances under which it was done gives it a poignancy that the casual reader would not feel. Has he attemtped prose? Could he write of his prison experiences?

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 17, 1971

Mr. Louis M. Proegler
5210 Corduroy Road
Mentor, Ohio 44060

Dear Mr. Proegler:

I appreciate so much your taking the time to write me as you did. I am enclosing a copy of NEW SOUTH, our quarterly and SOUTH TODAY, our monthly newspaper, and a recent special publication so that you can see from them the range of our interests.

I am not sure I understand the story idea you are suggesting, if, indeed, you are suggesting one at all. It would seem to me, as an editor, however that you would need to know more about the disposition of the case than you told me before you could make any clear definition of what you would like to do with it. Being as close to it as you understandably are, it might be better if you gave the facts to another investigative reporter. If you could tell me the locality and the approximate date I could look through our files of some 25 Southern newspapers and let you know what we find. Knowing the locality, too, I could better make a judgment about local attitudes since while what you have been told about the South is still true in some areas it is not so of the entire region.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosures

August 17, 1971

Mr. Paul Davidoff
Director
Surburban Action Institute
180 East Post Road
White Plains, New York

Dear Mr. Davidoff:

We would like to have you participate in a small meeting (approximately a dozen persons) of individuals who are knowledgeable about various facets of housing discrimination to discuss the issue with a view toward suggesting one aspect that an SRC task force might focus on.

Tentatively, this meeting is scheduled for September 16 (with September 23 as an alternate date) in Atlanta. It would last from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. (lunch inclusive). We will gladly cover your travel expenses but are unable to offer an honorarium.

Over the past five years, the Southern Regional Council has produced several reports which addressed the issue of discrimination in housing. Its most recent such publication dealt with government and citizen action to alleviate discrimination - primarily in the South. That report talked about the possibilities of halting the development of segregated housing patterns and thereby avoiding to some degree, ghettorization northern style. Achievement of this goal is projected as one of the great challenges of the 70's.

Now, SRC intends to take carefully chosen actions to effect some improvements in a selected problem area of housing discrimination. We would be greatly indebted to you for your help in making this decision.

This letter will be followed by a telephone call to ascertain your willingness to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 17, 1971

Mr. Harold Dawson
Empire Real Estate Board
3589 Gordon Road, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30331

Dear Mr. Dawson:

We would like to have you participate in a small meeting (approximately a dozen persons) of individuals who are knowledgeable about various facets of housing discrimination to discuss the issue with a view toward suggesting one aspect that an SRC task force might focus on.

Tentatively, this meeting is scheduled for September 16 (with September 23 as an alternate date) in Atlanta. It would last from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. (lunch inclusive).

Over the past fiveyyears, the Southern Regional Council has produced several reports which addressed the issue of discrimination in housing. Its most recent such publication dealt with government and citizen action to alleviate discrimination.- primarily in the South. That report talked about the possibilities of halting the development of segregated housing patterns and thereby avoiding to some degree, ghettorization northern style. Achievement of this goal is projected as one of the great challenges of the 70's.

Now, SRC intends to take carefully chosen actions to effect some improvements in a selected problem area of housing discrimination. We would be greatly indebted to you for your help in making this decision.

This letter will be followed by a telephone call to ascertain your willingness to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 17, 1971

Mr. Dan E. Sweat, Jr.
Chief Administrative Officer
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dan:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter and materials we are sending the mayor.

I hope it will be possible for him to act on this. It seems like a good opportunity to do some good in the area of housing without causing a political uproar.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB;Jr:mv

encs. 3

August 17, 1971

The Honorable Sam Massell
Mayor of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mayor Massell:

We ask your help in bringing to Atlanta an innovative program to fight discrimination in housing.

In 1970 HUD gave over $200,000 to the Legal Action Program in Chicago, Illinois. This program is designed to demonstrate how local private enterprise can be persuaded to support litigation which helps individual members of minority groups to secure equal access to housing under existing federal laws. The enclosed memorandum describes the project in more detail.

Mr. F. Willis Caruso, director of the Chicago program, has informed me that Secretary Romney is "anxious" to fund another demonstration project and that Atlanta would be viewed by Romney as an excellent location. Mr. Caruso said he probably can arrange to visit Atlanta at HUD's expense, bringing with him leading Chicago businessmen such as Mr. Jaicks and Mr. Ayers.

You know best which business leaders in our city would be willing to meet with a delegation from Chicago to discuss how a demonstration project here might benefit our community. We need your help in finding the right person(s) to issue an invitation and to set up the meeting. Mr. Caruso plans to see Secretary Romney on September 9. He would like to have in hand an invitation from Atlanta as evidence that local businesses are interested in a legal action program.

A chartered, open housing organization - the Metropolitan Atlanta Housing Conference - already exists here. It may be a good umbrella organization to supervise a legal actionpprogram, serving the same function as the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in Chicago.

Mr. Arthur Campbell, Co-Director of SRC's Housing and Planning Program and I will be pleased to meet with you about this matter at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

Encls. - 2.

M-E-M-O-R-A-N-D-U-M

To: Mayor Sam Massell

From: Horace Barker

Re: The Legal Action Program of the Chicago Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities

Date: August 17, 1971

The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities in Chicago, Illinois, was organized in 1966 by a group of local business and civic leaders who recognized an urgent need for stronger action to promote equal opportunity in housing. Board members of the Leadership Council include Thomas G. Ayers, President, Commonwealth Edison Company and Frederick G. Jaicks, President, Inland Steel Company.

Operating as a professionally-staffed open housing organization, the Council's major activity is the Legal Action Program which was initiated in 1969 as a demonstration project, supported largely by HUD's Office of Equal Opportunity. In 1970 HUD provided the Legal Action Program with over $200,000 in operating funds. Another $100,000 was contributed by local Chicago businesses and industries. The Legal Action Program anticipates continuing financial support from local and federal sources.

Functioning under the general auspices of the Leadership Council, the Legal Action Program has brought over 140 suits on behalf of minority families alleging racial discrimination in housing. More than 95 per cent of these cases have resulted in actions favorable to the plaintiffs.

Goals of the Legal Action Program include 1) development of case law in housing discrimination, 2) development of forms and procedures to expedite handling of cases by private attorneys, 3) obtaining judgements including sufficient money damages and legal fees to make prosecution of such cases by private attorneys worthwhile, 4) examining legal action relating to exclusionary zoning and discriminatory mortgage lending.

Attached is a report on the activities of the Leadership Council, including a financial statement and a listing of board members.

* * *

August 17, 1971

Mr. Leon Eplan
Eric Hill & Associates
75 Eighth Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leon:

We would like to have you participate in a small meeting (approximately a dozen persons) of individuals who are knowledgeable about various facets of housing discrimination to discuss the issue with a view toward suggesting one aspect that an SRC task force might focus on.

Tentatively, this meeting is scheduled for September 16 (with September 23 as an alternate date) in Atlanta. It would last from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. (lunch inclusive).

Over the past five years, the Southern Regional Council has produced several reports which addressed the issue of discrimination in housing. Its most recent such publication dealt with government and citizen action to alleviate discrimination - primarily in the South. That report talked about the possibilities of halting the development of segregated housing patterns and thereby avoiding to some degree, ghettorization northern style. Achievement of this goal is projected as one of the great challenges of the 70's.

Now, SRC intends to take carefully chosen actions to effect some improvements in a selected problem area of housing discrimination. We would be greatly indebted to you for your help in making this decision.

This letter will be followed by a telephone call to ascertain your willingness to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 18, 1971

Mr. John W. Woods, President
The First National Bank
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Woods:

I am working with a chartered organisation, the Panola Land Buyers Association, that is interested in building houses on land that it is buying in Sumter County, Alabama. This association is comprised of former sharecroppers and farm workers whose incomes are around the poverty level.

With the assistance of various individuals and organizations, this group has taken the initiative to make for themselves a better life. Their primary objective is to construct sound, sanitary dwellings.

During the past several months, the Southern Regional Council has been engaged in land use planning for this group. Now we have completed preliminary site plans for the first stage of their proposed development which includes thirty units of single family houses on approximately one acre lots. We are now seeking development capital.

We would like to secure long-term mortgage financing from conventional sources without depending on government financing. The most compelling reason for choosing this course is the need to expedite the construction of houses in phase one.

John B. Nicholson with the Housing Affairs Committee of the American Bankers Association recommended you as a person who could be instrumental in securing bank financing for a project of this type. His recommendation was in response to a question from me about banks in Alabama who are committed to ABA policies relative to low-income housing.

I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to discuss this project with you. If you would agree to meet with me (and possibly other representatives of the FLBA). Please advise me of a convenient time. (I will be out of the office from August 30 to September 13.)

Thank you for any consideration and/or assistance you might give.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 18, 1971

Mrs. Hazel M. Gerland
Wesley Manor K-18
Jacksonville, Florida 32223

Dear Mrs. Gerland:

A copy of NEW SOUTH is being forwarded under separate cover.

I am sorry to say that we do not accept fiction, or fictionalized experiences. The type of personal experience that would meet our needs is probably best illustrated in the articles "An Experiment in Fundamentalist Journalism" and "The Emancipation of Southern Womanhood" in the NEW SOUTH I am sending you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 18, 1971

Mr. Donald Holley
University of Arkansas at Monticello
Monticello, Arkansas 71655

Dear Mr. Holley:

The deadline is right upon me. In fact, I'm into galleys already so I'll have to know fairly soon. I would like very much to have it, if it can be arranged.

As for the Illinois Press, my experience in dealing with publishers is that they are readily amenable to granting pre-publication rights, for it gives attention to the book that it might not otherwise receive. There is no contract violation so long as they approved. Anyhow, let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 18, 1971

Miss Jean S. Reid
Director
Information Research Microfilming
  Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

Dear Miss Reid:

Thank you for your letter about microfilming NEW SOUTH. We have an agreement already with the University of Michigan which has been microfilming NEW SOUTH for the past several years.

Would this affect the terms of your contract?

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 18, 1971

Mrs. Jean Gregg Milgram
Executive Director
National Neighbors
5 Longford Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19136

Dear Jean Milgram:

Thank you for your comments on our housing report. We also appreciate your including it on the NEIGHBORS publications list.

You are correct in observing that I obtained some of the information for the report at Oberlin. The National Neighbor's Conference provided for a valuable exchange of viewpoints and program ideas from across the nation.

Our listing of open housing groups is being typed and prepared for distribution. We should be able to send you a copy within the next three to four days.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

August 18, 1971

Mr. Roger Wilcox
Techni Coop, Inc.
10 River Street
Stamford, Connecticut 06901

Dear Mr. Wilcox:

We appreciate your interest in the Panola Project.

Pursuant to our telephone conversation on August 16, I am enclosing one set of the three site plans developed by the Southern Regional Council for Panola. Drainage, ridge lines and other site characteristics were determined by walking the site. A grid superimposed on a aerial photo was used to record the information.

Hopefully, Meridith Richardson and I will be meeting with William Edwards and your representative, Larry Chkoreff early next week.

Tentatively, the larger meeting of all individuals involved in the project is scheduled for September 15. We have made no decision on where it will be held as of yet. As soon as plans are finalized, I will let you know.

I look forward to discussing this program in more detail with you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

Enclosures

August 19, 1971

Mr. Shimon Gottschalk
The Florence Heller Graduate School for
  Advanced Studies in Social Welfare
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Dear Mr. Gottschalk:

Please pardon our delay in answering your letter. Betsy Fancher has been in the hospital with a back injury and is now on temporary leave. I am picking up on her correspondence.

Enclosed is your chedk along with our thanks for a very fine article. Your insert is appropriate and has been included.

Let us know if we can mail complimentary copies of South Today to any one. Your article will most probably appear in the November issue.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh
Encl.
P. S. Please send us your social security number for our bookkeeping department.

August 19, 1971

Mr. George W. Groh
30 Cooper Lane
Larchmont, New York 10538

Dear Mr. Groh:

I was interested to read of your book on black migration and I am happy that you want the pictures from **NEW SOUTH**. Permission to use them however, must be granted by the photographer who holds the copyright. His name is Al Clayton, 696 Somerset Terrace, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30306.

When will your book be out? May we see a chapter from it for possible **NEW SOUTH** use?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 20, 1971

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. James Shideler, Editor
Agricultural History
University of California
Davis, California 95616

Dear Mr. Shideler:

Some weeks back I saw a copy of Donald Holley's paper on "The Negro in the New Deal Resettlement Program." I wrote him for permission to publish it in NEW SOUTH, quarterly magazine of the Southern Regional Council. He tells me that it is appearing shortly in Agricultural History and thought I should write you for permission to reprint it in NEW SOUTH.

May we have such permission? It would be for publication in September, 1971.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 20, 1971

Mr. Joseph Robinson
1736 St. John Street
Lake Charles, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Robinson:

The Tax Reform Law of 1969 prohibits us from making any grants to individual candidates for office. Therefore, we are not in a position to consider your request for support.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 20, 1971

Miss Marjorie Fine
Executive Director
Joint Foundation Support, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Marjorie:

Thank you sincerely for the notification of the grant of $1,500.

The statement of stipulations regarding the grant are agreed to, and a signed copy of that statement is enclosed. The Council is a private foundation, and we will, of course, see that all of these funds will be used for the purpose indicated and for no other.

I hope to see you next month.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 20, 1971

The Reverend & Mrs. Theo Kotze
P. O. Box 245
Rondebosch
Cape Town, South Africa

Dear Theo and Helen:

You are by now I trust, returned home. I am very anxious to know how you found things on your return and how you are doing.

We did very little for you in relation to what you did for us. Your visit was a real joy.

Recently, in the natural order of things, I submitted my resignation; documents related to that are enclosed. I plan to take some months for travel and writing, and while it will not be easy to achieve, I shall be very disappointed if during that time I am not able to visit you and South Africa.

My love to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Encls.

August 20, 1971

Dr. William H. Townsend
Professional Services Bldg.
1304 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Dr. Townsend:

Please forgive me this very long delay in responding to your inquiry about financial relationships between SRC and State Councils.

Three years ago the SRC Board adopted a policy that in 1971 it would end the grant-in-aid program. This was done with some reluctance, but with a sense of reality since the Foundations with which we deal had served notices that they would no longer make grants to SRC for this purpose. (They indicated at the same time that they would consider grants to be made directly to individual State Councils.) Beyond this reality, the Tax Reform Law of 1969 make it almost mandatory that we have this policy. Since the time the SRC policy was established, that policy has been discussed repeatedly with representatives of the State Councils, and I would guess that several hundred written communications have gone out spelling out this policy.

The above information is to indicate to you that we are not launching a new policy, but rather are simply following one adopted some three years ago.

In implementing this policy, we have made it very clear that we will do everything possible to assist individual Councils in their fund raising efforts.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 20, 1971

Mrs. Jean Gregg Milgram
Executive Director
National Neighbors
5 Longford Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19136

Dear Jean Milgram:

Enclosed is our listing of citizen open housing groups. Part of the information was obtained from NCDH, part from our own research and field expeditions.

Levels of activity vary from one group to another, but the list should provide at least the name of an individual interested in open housing for the community indicated.

Sincerely yours,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.
Housing and Planning Program

HNB,Jr:mv

Encl. - 1

August 23, 1971

Mr. Gilbert Ware
Social Science Department
Drexel University
Philadelphia, Penn 19104

Dear Mr. Ware:

Enclosed are your author's galleys on your article. We would like to have them back August 31, if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mr. Larry Dickens
Department of State Government
Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

Dear Mr. Dickens:

Enclosed are your author's galleys on your article. We would like to have them back August 31, if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mr. George Mitchell
284 Woodview Drive
Decatur, Georgia 30030

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed are your author's galleys on your article. We would like to have them back August 31,if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mr. Bob Cole
Coolidge Road
Concord, Mass. 01742

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are your author's galleys on your article. We would like to have them back August 31, if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mr. Redding Sugg
3804 Healy Road
Memphis, Tenn. 38111

Dear Mr. Sugg:

Enclosed are your author's galleys on your article. We would like to have them back August 31, if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mr. Ed King
c/o Gandhi Peace Foundation
221 Rouse Avenue
Delhi, India

Dear Mr. King:

I know the time element in mailing to India aren't predictable and so I took the liberty of sending the selection I mentioned in my August 11 letter to the printer. Galleys are enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA/bc
Enclosure

August 23, 1971

Mrs. Elizabeth E. Nielsen
10356 Newton Way
Rancho Cordova, California 95670

Dear Mrs. Nielsen:

Thank you for sending us your article The Other Vicksburg Cemetary. You capture the mood of the place quite well, but I am afraid that it is not quite the kind of article that is suitable for New South.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.

REAJR/rh

August 24, 1971

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

Thank you so much for the pleasant lunch and for the opportunity for us to visit.

Attached is a list of a few names of persons whom I think it would be worth considering for your filming project.

You may be sure that I will let you know when I will be in New York next month, and I look forward to seeing you then.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

August 24, 1971

Mr. John E. Fleming
2607 Bowen Road, S. E. #203
Washington, D. C. 20020

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter and your resume.

I have resigned my position as director, and would like to keep all future staff appointments for the incoming director. When that person is selected, your resume will be called to his attention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 24, 1971

Mrs. Mary Lynn Gorman
Editorial Department
Little, Brown and Company
34 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02106

Dear Mrs. Gorman:

Thank you very much for your recommendation of Dr. Woodward's new book. I am certain the committee will give it their serious consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 24, 1971

Mrs. Daisy Scott
Director
Kindale Park Day Care Center
Route 1, Box 235M
Kingstreet, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Scott:

In response to your communication, we are pleased to enclose our check for $500 in support of food and medicine for children in your Day Care Center.

When these funds are expended we will require an accounting of them. This should be no later than the end of the year.

At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt on the enclosed carbon.

You are to be commended for your fine efforts.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

August 24, 1971

Mrs. Laura Pressley
Nesmith Day Care Center
Route 1, Box 311
Nesmith, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Pressley:

In response to your communication, we are pleased to enclose our check for $500 in support of food and medicine for children in your Day Care Center.

When these funds are expended we will require an accounting of them. This should be no later than the end of the year.

At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt on the enclosed carbon.

You are to be commended for your fine efforts.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosure

August 24, 1971

Mr. Anthony M. Champagne
University of Illinois at Urbana-Campaign
Department of Political Science
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Dear Mr. Campagne:

Thank you for your recent query about segregation academies. Our most recent report on the subject can be found in the article by Kitty Terjen (p. 69) in the enclosed pamphlet.

We would, indeed, like to see a reprint of your article when it comes out.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

Enclosure: The South and Her Children

August 24, 1971

Mrs. Louise Price Bell
145 Sierra Vista Drive, East
Tucson, Arizona 85719

Dear Mrs. Bell:

Thank you for your recent query. I am sending under separate cover a copy of New South. From it I think you can see our needs. I do not like to discourage before you can see the publication, but I am afraid the suggestions you offer are not really our kind of material. But perhaps on reading us, you will have other ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

August 24, 1971

Mrs. Caroline M. Dillman
2180 Gordon Avenue
Menlo Park, California 94025

Dear Mrs. Dillman:

Thank you for your good letter. I am sending you a copy of New South under separate cover. After you have read it I think you can better judge the type of material that suits our needs. Our audience is made up for the most part of Southerners, active in civil rights matters themselves or supportive of the Southern Regional Council's efforts and program.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

Reading File

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

August 25, 1971

Mr. Bob Valder, Regional Director
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
216 West Tenth Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Mr. Valder:

Enclosed are copies of the materials that have been sent to some schools in North Carolina concerning school desegregation. As you scan the materials you will note recommendations for easing some problems related to the newly desegregated school, practical suggestions for principals, superintendents, students, and teachers.

Mr. Via would like for you to recommend from 5 to 10 names of persons or organizations in North Carolina that could probably do some follow-up work for us on the school desegregation packet. Such work would entail receiving the same packet of materials, visiting the high school principals in that area who had also received the packet, and evaluation of the principal's progress. Each contact person will be furnished the name and address of other contact persons in his area if you recommend more than one contact person per area so that they may possibly form some sort of team effort.

You will also find enclosed a copy of the letter being sent to contact persons and a list of some of the schools in various cities in North Carolina that have received the materials. I hope these materials will give you a better idea of what our School Desegregation Project is all about.

We look forward to hearing from you soon. If you should need to contact Mr. Via, he will be back in the office on Friday, August 27.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

ENCLOSURES AND ATTACHMENTS

August 25, 1971

Mr. D. John Heyman, President
New York Foundation, Inc.
4 West 58th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Heyman:

This is to request of the New York Foundation consideration of support in the amount of $20,000 in support of our program during 1971. Of this amount we request that consideration be given to providing $15,000 in general support and $5,000 to our Community Organization Project.

As you know, our "general operations" budget is basically a program rather than an administrative item. From this designation comes much of the cost of our information and research activities and a substantial amount of our field program. This is particularly true of those activities which cannot be a result of long term commitments. Periodically, the Council must respond to needs - or program opportunities - which cannot be foreseen earlier. In fact, it might be argued, that such response and the results might well be among the best of the Council's work. One example this year would be our work in investigating the creation of "segregation academies". Beyond this specialized interest, almost all of our substantial work during the year in the area of school desegregation has been funded from general operations.

For 1971 we have budgeted for general operations approximately $300,000. To date, approximately $200,000 has been committed.

Our Community Organization Project is the instrument through which we attempt to assist local self-help economic development groups. This year that project has added a new dimension. We have employed on a temporary basis, Mr. Leon Hall, formally a field organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to work with high school students in newly desegregated situations. Through him, we have established relationships with students in four states who are attempting to make integration work in their schools. We have also recruited black and white college students in those states to work with the high school groups. Beginning last week, we are sponsoring a ten day conference at a center in South Carolina for some fifty black and white high school students in an attempt to provide them with additional skills and information for the work they will be doing in their schools beginning in September. No funds have been committed for these programs, but we have felt that this need is critical and that the effort must be continued with the hope that, in time, funds could be found.

We are sincerely grateful for the past support of the New York Foundation and shall be most grateful for any consideration you can give to this request. Needless to say, if additional information is needed we shall be happy to provide it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 26, 1971

Mr. Owen Tapper
Institute for Labor Studies
580 Spruce Street
Morgantown, West Virginia 26506

Dear Owen:

In listing the 189 Executive Board and on all other listings I should appear as:

Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone--Office: (404) 522-8764
Home : (404) 378-0340

Our current building is being demolished. We should be in the new quarters after October 1, if not sooner.

Best personal wishes to you and family.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resouces Development Center

EFV/gms

August 26, 1971

Mr. Robert Newman
Attorney
Atlanta Legal Aid
551 Forest Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Dear Bob:

Thanks for agreeing to participate in our meeting on housing discrimination. To give you additional insight into the work of the Southern Regional Council, I am enclosing several of our publications and a brochure which describes the structure and scope of the organization. Also for your information, I am enclosing a list of prospective participants.

Pending further notice, the meeting will be held at our office here on 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. starting at 10:00 a.m. on September 16.

Thanks again, and I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv
Enclosures

August 26, 1971

Miss Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Gina:

Enclosed is a progress report on the status of our project.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA/h

August 26, 1971

Mr. Clifford D. Gookin
Mississippi Division of Appalachin
Development
Office of the Governor
Tupelo, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Gookin:

Would it be possible for us to obtain a copy of the Appalachian Regional Commission's report on the Northeast Mississippi Health Survey, referred to Roy Reed's New York *Times* article of July 25, 1971?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

August 26, 1971

Mr. Jack Sisson
Human Relations Commission
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Jack:

Thanks so much for the materials you sent me some time back, and please accept my apologies for the delay in replying. I was on vacation when they first came in and immediately plunged back into New South production on my return. Family reasons prevented my attending the conference. Jim Wood tells me it was a very good meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

August 27, 1971

Mr. Beekman Winthrop
Box 167
Luray, S.C.

Dear Mr. Winthrop:

A week or so ago I read a Jack Bass article on intestinal parasites in South Carolina. I thought of asking Jack to do me a piece on the subject for a special issue on health I am trying to put together for NEW SOUTH. But I had much rather have the article that you told me you were working on some time ago, because I feel it would be much more authoritative. Is it in shape now so that we might have it?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Andersen, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA/h

August 27, 1971

Mr. R. Nathaniel Scott
Black American Studies
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois 62901

Dear Mr. Scott:

We have read your article with a good deal of interest. It is well written but it seems to me incomplete. Press accounts of the 1913 case are well documented but coverage of Scottsboro and the Till case seem sketchy.

By stopping as it does in 1955 before the civil rights movement started in the South you lose timeliness. I feel an additional section covering the intervening 16 years is needed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REA/rh

August 27, 1971

Mr. David L. Markstein
The Markstein Letter
1238 National Bank of Commerce
  Building
New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

Dear Mr. Markstein:

Thank you for your query about an article on inflation. Just now, of course, the subject is most timely--but I think from our point of view we would be less interested in the problems of landlords--more interested in the problems of the poor, the workigg man.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson

REE/rh

August 27, 1971

Mr. Earl Johnson
Attorney
625 West Union Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We would like to have you participate in a small meeting (approximately a dozen persons) of individuals who are knowledgeable about various facets of housing discrimination to discuss the issue with a view toward suggesting one aspect that an SRC Task Force might focus on.

Tentatively, this meeting is scheduled for September 16 (with September 23 as an alternate date) in Atlanta. It would last from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. (lunch inclusive). We will gladly cover your travel expenses but are unable to offer an honorarium.

Over the past five years, the Southern Regional Council has produced several reports which addressed the issue of discrimination in housing. Its most recent such publication dealt with government and citizen action to alleviate discrimination - primarily in the South. That report talked about the possibilities of halting the development of segregated housing patterns and thereby avoding to some degree, ghettorization northern style. Achievement of this goal is projected as one of the great challenges of the 70's.

Now SRC intends to take carefully chosen actions to effect some improvements in a selected problem area of housing discrimination. We would be greatly indebted to you for your help in making this decision.

This letter will be followed by a telephone call to ascertain your willingness to participate.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Ms. Peggy M. Clovin
Director of Community Services
Houston Area Urban Leggue, Inc.
4708 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Ms. Clovin:

I am enclosing a copy of a newsletter of National Neighbors which provides the information you requested.

Let me know if you think I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv
Enclosure

August 27, 1971

Mr. John Hill
Common Wealth System
1000 Madison Avenue
P. O. Box 406
Greenwood, Indiana 46412

Dear Mr. Hill:

The meeting to review the Panola project will be held September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by the Southern Regional Council will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

I understand that Mr. William Edwards will assist you in making arrangements to get to the meeting. Let me know if you need additional assistance.

We welcome your interest and look forward to seeing you on September 15.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Mr. William Edwards
Modular Sciences, Inc.
230 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

The meeting to review the Panola project will be held September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by the Southern Regional Council will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Mr. Wendell Paris
Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Inc.
P. O. Box 95
Epes, Alabama 35460

Dear Wendy:

The meeting to review the Panola Project will be held September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by the Southern Regional Council will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Mr. Meridith Richardson
Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Meridith:

The meeting to review the Panola project will be held on September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by the Southern Regional Council will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Mr. Larry Chkoreff
Executive Vice President
Housing Systems, Inc.
134 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Chkoreff:

The meeting to review the Panola Project will be held September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by SRC will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

For your information, I am enclosing two maps showing the meeting site's proximity to cities with air service to Atlanta.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv
Enclosures

August 27, 1971

Mr. Roger Wilcox
President
Techni Coop, Inc.
Stamford, Connecticut 06901

Dear Mr. Wilcox:

The meeting to review the Panola project will be held on September 15 at 10:00 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by SRC will be presented. The major part of the meeting is to focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association. As I see it, the success of this meeting hinges on your participation.

I can arrange transportation for you from Atlanta to Panola. We would probably need to leave Atlanta during the evening of the 14th. The other option is to fly into Meridian, Mississippi or Tuscaloosa, Alabama, via Atlanta or Memphis, and rent a car. (If I knew your schedule in time, I could make arrangements to have someone pick you up at the airport.) From either city driving time is approximately one hour.

We would be glad to have Mr. Frank Palmer attend this meeting. I am sending him a letter to that effect.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 27, 1971

Mr. Frank B. Palmer
14 Raymond Street
Darien, Connecticut 06820

Dear Mr. Palmer:

The meeting to review the Panola project will be held on September 15 at 10:30 a.m. in Panola. At this meeting, preliminary plans developed by SRC will be presented. The major part of the meeting will focus on the establishment of a rural housing co-op and arrangements for financing new housing for the Panola Land Buyers Association.

We welcome your participation. For your information, I am enclosing two maps showing the meeting site's proximity to cities with air service to Atlanta and Memphis. Meridian, Mississippi and Tuscaloosa, Alabama are only an hours drive from the site. If I know your schedule in time, arrangements can be made to have someone pick you up at the airport.

Provided you can not attend, I will share the information you sent to me with the PLBA members.

Looking forward to seeing you on September 15.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv
Enclosures

August 27, 1971

Mr. T. M. Jim Parham
Director
State Department of Family and Children Services
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Mr. Parham:

Thank you for your invitation to serve on the Housing Task Force of the Governors Goals for Georgia Program. I believe that there is a very strong role for Georgia to play in housing and gladly accept your offer to participate in this effort.

I look forward to working with you and the Housing Task Force.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

ACC:mv

August 30, 1971

Mr. Robert T. Summer
Sales Manager
The University of North Carolina Press
Box 2288
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

Dear Mr. Summer:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sharing with the Lillian Smith Awards Committee Mrs. Miller's autobiography. I am also pleased to have the suggestion of Dewey Grantham's book, since we definitely should consider that also.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 30, 1971

Mr. Jay B. Levin
President, Student Government
Connecticut College
Box 623
New London, Connecticut 06320

Dear Mr. Levin:

Thank you sincerely for the generous contribution to our hunger fund. Please don't apologize for the amount, it is to us very significant.

You may be interested to know that on the day before we received your letter, two grants of $500 each were made to new Day Care Centers in South Carolina, and for all purposes this exhausted the funds we had on hand. I had dreaded receiving the next request, but your contribution now makes it possible for us to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

August 30, 1971

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Raymond:

The IRS is here.

Enclosed you will find forms for additional waivers. Please sign them and return in the addressed envelope enclosed. On the basis of earlier legal advice I feel certain we must do this. While it probably means nothing the two persons from the IRS who were here this morning, indicated that it might well be another year before we know anything definite.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

August 30, 1971

Mr. John J. Ingle, Jr.
Director, NCDH/HOME Demonstration Project
NCDH - Raleigh
710 W. North Street
Raleigh, N. C. 27603

Dear Mr. Ingle:

Your letter of 26 August to Mr. Arthur Campbell has come to my attention. Inasmuch as Art will be out for a couple of weeks, I thought I would ask direct to you a question I have.

Would it be possible to have a zerox copy of Mr. Bob Chandler's letter to you, wherein he stated "unusually perceptive and realistic" with regard to Equal Housing Opportunity?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Moreland Griffith Smith
Co-Director
Housing and Planning

MGS:jb

August 30, 1971

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. James H. Shideler
AGR Editor
AGRICULTURAL HISTORY
University of California
Davis, California 95616

Dear Mr. Shideler:

Thank you for your letter. Mr. Holley tells me that there were some changes made in the copy of the paper I have and the copy you are publishing. Could I have, as soon as possible, the version you are running?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 30, 1971

Mr. Burton D. Dunlop
Department of Sociology
University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Dear Mr. Dunlop:

I am sending a copy of "Radicalism: Southern Style" in answer to you inquiry about white opposition in the South to black aspirations. It was published in 1968 by Southern Regional Council; I think its findings still generally apply, and cover the situation.

I have heard of efforts in Mobile, Alabama, by Asa Carter, an old Klan hand, to organize an anti-Negro thing called "The Southerners." I doubt if it amounts too much--but if you want further information, you might write to Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D., Director, Human Relations Center, Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama, 36608.

Good luck with your dissertation--and if you need more specific information, let me know.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

Enclosure

August 31, 1971

Mr. Charles Bullock
Bureau of Labor Statistics
1371 Peachtree Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Regarding your conversation about the new edition of Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the U.S., I would like for the following persons to receive a copy:

Mr. Jerry Roden, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P.O. Box 409
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
600 West 9th Street, Suite 210
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Mr. John McCown, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
75 Piedmont Avenue, N.E.
Suite 462
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mrs. Pat Miller, Executive Director
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
First Federal Savings & Loan Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Mrs. Pat Derian
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
108 South President Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Rev. Paul Mathias, Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
The Columbia Building, Suite 200
1203 Gervais Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Mr. Richard M. Moon, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818-B 17th Street, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Rev. Curtis W. Harris, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
214 East Clay Street, Room 310
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Miss Winifred Green, Director
American Friends Service Committee
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Hayes Mizell
American Friends Service Committee
401 Columbia Building
1200 Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 20201

Mr. David L. Jacobs, Director
American Friends Service Committee
450-A Belsaw Avenue
Mobile, Alabama 36603

Mr. Charles Prejean, Director
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Atty. Charles Morgan
American Civil Liberties Union
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Clarence Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dr. Paul Gaston
Department of History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
q Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. John Lewis, Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
4th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. John P. Roblin
TENCO
P.O. Box 718
Gulfport, Mississippi 39501

Mr. John Edwards, Director
North Carolina VEP
P.O. Box 701
107½ Parish Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

South Carolina Voter Education Project
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 20201

Georgia Center for Elected Officials
Clark College
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mr. Sherill Marcus, Director
Birmingham Center for Elected Officials
Miles College
P.O. Box 122
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

Mr. Larry Rand, Director
Mississippi Center for Elected Officials
P.O. Box 219
Togaloo, Mississippi 39174

Dr. Thomas Smith, Director
Louisiana Center for Elected Officials
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70813

Mrs. Viola Cleveland
Black Appalachian Commission
13½ Eagle Street
Asheville, North Carolina 28801

Miss Mary G. Brown
284 "B" Street
Abingdon, Virginia 24210

Mrs. Wylda D. Harbin
110 Green Street
Harlan, Kentucky 40831

Mr. Carl Johnson, Regional Director
Black Appalachian Commission
36-A Hillcrest Apartments
Asheville, North Carolina 28801

Mr. Harry Walker, President
University of South Carolina Student Body
Greenville, South Carolina

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resouces Development Center

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO:
FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Resources Development Center
DATE: August 31, 1971

Emory F. Via

I have asked Brunswick Bagdon, Regional Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to send you a copy of the most recent edition of Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the U.S.

August 31, 1971

Mr. N. Jerold Cohen
Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan
First National Bank Tower
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jerry:

Thank you for your most helpful suggestions and professional advice concerning bylaws appropriate to a revitalized MAHC.

I am forwarding your letters and notes to Art Campbell who will keep you informed about the Council's work on the Housing Conference.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.

HNB,jr:lb

August 31, 1971

Mr. John J. Ingle, Jr.
Director,
NCDH/Home Demonstration Project
710 W. North Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603

Dear John:

Thank you for your comments on our housing report and for the reference to the report in your funding proposal.

Congratulations for getting Ford's approval. Your proposed program is excellent and certainly badly needed.

Art Campbell is on vacation until September 13. In his absence I am sending two copies of the report as per your request.

I will be leaving the Council this week to complete a year of graduate study. However, I hope to attend the September meeting in Atlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.

HNB,jr:lb

August 31, 1971

Miss Nora Levin
1220 Chelton Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19126

Dear Miss Levin:

Thank you for your good letter.

It's rare that we pick up re-prints but I appreciate your letting us see your article on Southern co-ops. Let me think a little about your other proposed articles.

I quess I ought to correct your notion of what NEW SOUTH is. We aren't a budding new venture, but have been around now for 26 years, the quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council. Our audience is made up largely of Southerners, black and white, who are active in human relations activities themselves or supportive of the Council's efforts and program.

I'll send you a copy under separate cover together with some of our other recent publications, including a report we issued on the co-op movement.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 31, 1971

Mr. Thomas F. Heffernan
148 Kildare Road
Garden City, New York 11530

Dear Mr. Heffernan:

It was good to read your letter. I was hopeful that we had something that would start a literary controversy, and I looked forward to the article. I have now read it--and am disappointed. It is simply too abstract for us. I don't think we can expect our readers to be conversant with your classical allusions and I just think the metaphysical frame of reference puts it in a category that only a very specialized audience could fully appreciate.

I am sorry.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

August 31, 1971

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ginna:

You will recall that Paul Gaston was with us on a leave of absence from the University of Virginia. He has now returned to the university.

He transferred his files on the Education Coalition to me. I will be happy to receive further communications from the group.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

September 1, 1971

Mr. T. M. Alexander, Sr.
Orberdorfer Insurance Agency, Inc.
354 Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mr. Alexander:

After September 3 I will be leaving the Council to pursue graduate study at the University of Georgia.

Any further communication regarding my correspondence with Mayor Massell should be addressed to Mr. Arthur Campbell, Co-Director of the Council's Housing and Planning Program.

Mr. Campbell returns from vacation on September 13. He would like to see an effective open housing program established. I am sure that he will be most interested in your judgment about the Legal Action Program and other programs which can help open up the housing market to all people throughout the metropolitan area.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.

HNB, jr:lb

September 1, 1971

Mrs. Eloise M. Fruge
Rt. 1 Box 1370
Lake Charles, Louisiana 70601

Dear Mrs. Fruge:

I hate to masquerade under false colors. You have me confused with someone else. I have never written for or edited either of the publications you mention.

I am returning your manuscript because I think you did not intend for it to come to such a journal as NEW SOUTH which stands for things quite different from the thrust your article takes. I do think what you say illustrates the gulf of misunderstanding between white Southerners who have come at least to accept some of the precepts of the civil rights movement and blacks who have faced and lived with racial discrimination for so long that they reject the "slow but sure" change you describe.

I do feel that you write out of deep sincerity and yet I cannot help but feel also--as one white Southerner to another--that the matter is more complex than you describe. Perhaps you will be interested in reading the Council's recent report on school desegregation published earlier this year which I am sending you under separate cover.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor

September 1, 1971

Mrs. Wendy Haskell Meyer
2940 Chevy Chase Drive
Houston, Texas 77019

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

I would like to see the article you propose. A copy of NEW SOUTH is coming to you under separate cover and I am enclosing a report we did last year on the BASF controvsy published in our monthly newspaper SOUTH TODAY.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosure

September 1, 1971

Mr. Walter Hollyfield
3126 Avenue B
San Antonio, Texas 78209

Dear Mr. Hollyfield:

Thank you for letting us read your essay. I am afraid, however, that it is not suitable for NEW SOUTH publications.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

September 1, 1971

Mr. Peter Hudson
c/o Miss Judy Allen
Arnold Mill Road
Woodstock, Georgia

Dear Peter:

Been trying to reach you by phone, but its out of order. Will keep trying, but in the meantime will write this so I can put an end to my worrying.

Winn has written us a piece about the time you all went down to Randolph County to take pictures and the guy in the pickup truck came roaring into town brandishing a gun. Betsy remembers your having taken some good shots of that town. Do you still have them?

If so, we'd like to take a look and will pay $20 per print used if that's ok. We can't make you rich, but we can pay for your liquor.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen

KT/rh

September 2, 1971

Mr. John J. Ingle, Jr.
Director
Housing Opportunities Made Equal, Inc.
710 W. North Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603

Dear Mr. Ingle:

Thank you very much for the xerox copy of Mr. Chandler's letter to you. I am trying to create a file of reactions to the pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Housing and Planning Program

MGS:mv

September 2, 1971

Ms. Glenda Sloane
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Mass. Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ms. Sloane:

Thank you for sending us a copy of President Nixon's statement regarding your housing opportunity policy. Enclosed herewith is a copy of our report "Equal Housing Opportunities in the South - A Challenge."

Sincerely yours,

Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA
Director
Housingaand Planning Program

MGS:mv
Enclosures

September 2, 1971

Mr. Beekman Winthrop
3722 Benton Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Beek:

I suspect you are too modest and that what you have already is good stuff.

I hope to have several other articles including one by Dr. Arnold Schaeffer who, as I quess you know, was in charge of the National Nutrition Survey. He has promised it, in any event, but so far hasn't come through. Dr. Raymond Wheeler will be included and I will probably have a kind of round-up piece. There are other things in the works, too,--a report on black lung and possibly a few shorter, more popularly-written pieces.

As you can imagine I want the Schaeffer article badly and am prepared to wait an issue for it--if need be. I also want yours. So why don't you do this: Send me what you have now and we can discuss by phone or in correspondence any revisions that seem indicated. Okay?

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

September 2, 1971

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
3724 Warrington Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Raymond:

Here by way of a letter to a potential author is kind of the way the health care issue looks right now. Winthrop, has been researching and working on an article about intestinal parasites. He is unpublished and as I say in the letter to him probably too modest, for, from what I have heard of it the study will be very good.

Schaeffer has been crawfishing on me. I've talked to him several times in the past few weeks, always get promised that it will be coming to me shortly--but the last time I talked with him, he suggested that he let someone on the National Academy of Science sigh what he writes. I don't have any real problem with that and we left it up in the air. I gather he's in a bureaucratic bind. The black lung article has been in the works for a long time. I am just now--having gotten the current New South about stashed away at the printer--assessing in a systematic way the material we have. It could be a most impressive issue, if things come together. Just wanted you to know how it looked now.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

Encl.

September 2, 1971

Professor Leila Calhoun Deasy
Department of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Professor Deasy:

We would be most interested in seeing your study and will be available to discuss it with you anytime. I would like to have a couple of days advance notice as to when you will come.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 2, 1971

Senator David Gambrell
New Senate Office Bldg.
Room 3327
Washington, D.C. 20510

Attn: Mr. Ted Hester

Dear Mr. Hester:

As your office requested by telephone conversation today, I am enclosing a copy of THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosure

September 2, 1971

Mr. Gilbert Ware
Department of Political Science
Drexel University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Mr. Ware:

Thank you for sending me your manuscript. I shall look forward to reading it when the present issue is finally battered down. I am returning to you four pages from a letter which evidently were attached to your manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson,,Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosure

September 3,1971

Mr. Bob Newman
Emory Community Legal Service Center
551 Forrest Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

Dear Bob:

I hope you were able to contact Caruso and received encouragement on getting funds for a legal action program here.

If you see a good ppportunity to get a program going, I would urge that every effort be made to link it up with a revitalized Atlanta Metropolitan Housing Conference. As you well know, a large number of activites, including legal action, public education, and lobbying are needed to achieve open housing. The Conference provides an existing skeletal organization for carrying out a comprehensive program. The key men with the Conference are Rev. Randy Taylor, Central Presbyterian Church, and Ed Grider, Urban Training Institute.

When Art returns on the 13th, he will be in touch.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.

HNB:jr:lb

September 3, 1971

Mr. F. Willis Caruso
General Counsel
Leadership Council for Metropolitan
Open Communities
155 North Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Dear Mr. Caruso:

Thank you for sending the information concerning the Leadership Council's Legal Action Program.

There is a definite interest among several community and business leaders here in legal action and other programs to promote open housing. The process of mobilizing and organizing this interest is still ongoing. When these activities are closer to completion, such assistance as you can provide, based on your Chicago experience, should be useful in initiating a program here. I hope you will consider making a trip to Atlanta for this purpose.

I will be leaving the Council this week to attend graduate school Mr. Arthur Campbell, Co-Director of the Council's Housing and Planning Program, will be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker,Jr.

HNB,jr:lb

September 3, 1971

Mr. Paul Davidoff
SURBAN ACTION
180 East Post Road
White Plains, New York 10601

Dear Mr. Davidoff:

Your letter to Mr. Campbell arrived during his absence from the office.

We are very pleased that you will be able to join in our meeting on Housing Discrimination. September 16 has been selected as the date. The meeting will be held in the Council's conference room at 10:A.M.

We look forward to having you with us and to the opportunity to meet you personally.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Reading File

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764
A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 3, 1971

Mr. Joseph H. Battle, President
National Neighbors
3129 Keswick Road
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120

Dear Mr. Battle:

We were pleased to hear that you will be able to attend our meeting on Housing Discrimination. The meeting will be held on September 16 (sorry not to have been able to put it on your preferred day) at 10:A.M. in our conference room.

We look forward to having you with us and to the opportunity to meet you personally.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

P.S. Your message to Mr. Campbell arrived during his absence from the office.

September 6, 1971

Mr. George T. Long, Jr.
Educational Liaison
Citizens Center for Quality Education
Virginia Council on Human Relations
214 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Mr. Long:

Please excuse the tardy response to your letter of August 9, 1971 for information. Hopefully, the tardiness of the response will not deter the utility of the information.

Two resources immediately come to mind with regard to problem areas outlined: Dr. William Dufford, Center for Integrated Education, 503 South Main Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29208. Dr. Dufford and his co-workers have been conducting human relations/communications workshops throughout the state of South Caroline. They have developed extensive training models utilizing various techniques - role play, buzz groups, fishbowls, etc. - in working with educators and residents on problems related to school desegregation.

Dr. Rachel Dubois, New York Friends Center Workshop and Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. Recent author of the book (with Mew Soong Li), Reducing Social Tension and Conflict: Through the Group Conversation Method. This manual clearly outlines the group conversation method, contains extensive illustration/examples, and concludes with a very pertinent human relations bibliography. I suggest that you purchase a paperback copy of the book. Dr. Dubois can be reached at the New York Friends Center Workshop, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, New York 10003.

These two resources should provide innumerable leads and information. If we can be of further assistance, please contact us immediately.

Sincerely,

Clarence E. Wright, Jr.
Director
Community Organization Division

CEW,Jr:mv

cc. Mr. Curtis Harris

September 7, 1971

Mr. Townsend L. Walker, Sr.
Chairman
Committee on Church and Human Brotherhood
P. O. Box 4285, Farley Station
Huntsville, Alabama 35802

Dear Mr. Walker:

Thank you for letting us know about the program. Unfortunately copy deadline is past, but we would like to see copies of such papers as emerge from the meeting for possible use later.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 7, 1971

Miss Natalie Greenberg
Administrative Editor
Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Greenberg:

Thank you for your letter of August 30. The special report which Bob Coles did for us in 1967 was entitled "Hungry Children" not "Children in Mississippi" and it was never copyrighted by the Southern Regional Council.

As for the latter article "Is There a Mind of the South" I have no problem with assigning the copyright to Bob. Please regard this letter as our assignment. In the process we forfeit all commissions, etc, therto pertaining.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosure

September 8, 1971

Mrs. Elizabeth Tornquist
26 Georgetown Manor
1000 N. Duke Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Elizabeth:

Thanks for your note. It'll be out--God willing--long before the date you cite. If not, I've had it anyhow!

We can provide extra copies of the magazine. What quantity is he thinking of?

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

September 8, 1971

Miss Mary T. Ostopak
1718 Riviera Ct.
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Miss Ostopak:

Your article sounds interesting--probably a piece that I would enjoy reading. But I'm afraid, from your description, that it just would not fit into NEW SOUTH. Thanks so much for writing us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, JR.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 8, 1971

Mr. Richard King
612 "C" Street, NE
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. King:

I am still interested. Could you let me see your revisions within the next couple of weeks? We are planning the next issue now.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 9, 1971

Miss Ruth L. Harvey
Attorney
453 South Main Street
Danville, Virginia 24541

Dear Miss Harvey:

Just a reminder that we need from you the addresses of Mrs. Mary Jones and Mr. Charles McLead.

Thank you for giving the day.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

September 9, 1971

Mr. Hoyt T. Holland, Jr.
Comprehensive Planners, Inc.
Drawer 738
West Point, Mississippi 39773

Dear Mr. Holland:

Redding Sugg has recently written an article for our paper on the changing beats in Mississippi. He suggested that your office might supply us with certain maps to accompany this article. These maps are of Adams County showing (1) the existing beats (2) the beats as proposed under the reapportionment plan developed by the Board of Supervisors and challenged on a complaint of racial gerrymandering. In addition, he suggested that these maps contain population figures.

If there is any cost for these maps, please bill us.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

September 9, 1971

Mr. Redding Sugg, Jr.
3804 Healy Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38111

Dear Redding:

I have just finished reading your manuscript and I must say it was a real pleasure. You done good, my friend, very good. Thank you.

I'll follow your suggestion on the maps. Since that'll take a while to get and since we're already past deadline, I'm scheduling you to run in November. I didn't see anything that would be dated by then, but if you know of anything, holler.

Enclosed, is your check, which includes your expenses. I look forward to your next proposal.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

September 9, 1971

Mr. Eugene Moore
833 Springdale Road
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Eugene:

I tried to call you on the appointed days, but got no answer. Maybe the n number information gave me is not correct.

Anyway, give me a ring. I have a few things I want to talk to you about--nothing big, mind you. Just some little things.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen

KT/rh

September 9, 1971

Mrs. Alda Boyd Riley
Publicity Manager
Association Press
291 Broadway
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mrs. Riley:

Thanks for writing me. Someone in your office must have anticipated me, for your letter was enclosed in the package the book came in. I'm glad to have it and will read it with the idea of excerpting for NEW SOUTH.

Five Forsyth is still correct and will be until further notice.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, JR.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 9, 1971

Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc
1500 Henderson Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Jerry:

Moreland let me see your good note about the pamphlet. I think you are probably right about economic integration. Combine it with racial considerations and the challenge is great, indeed.

Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

September 10, 1971

Mr. Orion Ulrey
Department of Agricultural Economics
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Mr. Ulrey:

Thank you, I quess, for your critique. I think you don't mean to say our purpose is uncertain, but rather that what you read does not reflect your particular interests--which is something altogether different. For the agricultural economist looking for new thought and developments in his field you are undoubtedly right. We make no pretense at being the sort of journal you fault us for not being.

I shall look forward to reading your paper and being instructed by it. Perhaps you will feel like doing us a shortened version in article form.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

September 10, 1971

VIA AIR MAIL

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 Eighteenth Street, NW
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Ginna:

Time has rushed by faster than the law ought to allow. It's not so long from June to October, after all, and the period has been one of both deep uncertainties and yet also of much work.

I don't feel that I can categorically say today that I want to proceed until I have something further in hand to judge.

I have been in touch this week with Mrs. Tornquist and she has promised to deliver next week reports from three of the towns. I will, of course, share them with you. After reading what she has done I will then render a very candid verdict.to you.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

October 20, 1971

Mr. Tommy W. Rogers
Associate Professor
Division of Social Studies
Georgia Southern College
Statesboro, Georgia 30458

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Your corrections arrived today and they are satisfactory. I shall run the story as soon as possible--which I know will please you since your check depends on that.

Will you jot me a note giving me your social security number and a brief vitae so we can properly identify you when the time comes. Appropriate information would include: Where you were born, what you are taching at Ga. Southern, any previous journalistic or writing experience.

Thank you for your contribution to South Today.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

October 27, 1971

Carlos Eduardo Ferrero
Apartado 301
Valencia, Veneauela

Dear Mr. Ferrero:

I have talked with Charles Weltner, author of "John Willie Reed, an Epitaph". We are both delighted at your interest. You may thus consider this letter our permission for you to proceed ahead with your translation plans, without conditions on our part, except that normal credit notices be given including the fact that it was published by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta,

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

cc: Mr. Charles Weltner

November 1, 1971

STUDENT INFORMATION CENTER
1010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

ATTENTION: PUBLICATIONS AND DISTRIBUTION

Gentlemen:

Please add the list of names attached to your mailing list. You may have received this list with Institute Overview. The names circled are high school students. We will forward another list of persons that we would like to receive your publications in about a month.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall

LH/gms
Encl.

November 1, 1971

Mr. Elijah Coleman, Director
ACHR
600 West 9th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Brother Coleman:

We received a copy of ACHR's "Student Rights" handbook and are quite impressed with it.

We have worked with several students from Texarkana, Arkansas and Texas who were working on a similar handbook for their school districts. One of them, you may already know, Clyde E. Lee, III, I am sure would be very grateful to receive copies if he doesn't alaready have them. His address is 1801 Laurel Street, Texarkana, Arkansa.

By the way, would you please send me two more copies of the handbook. Have you made any attempts to get it formally adopted by the State Office of Education? If so, is there any response?

We are looking forward to attempting to organize pilot School Desegregation Projects on three college campuses in Arkansas. Could you suggest schools and contacts?

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall

LH/gms
Encl.

November 1, 1971

Mr. John W. Gadson
Executive Director
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Box A
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Gadson:

Bob Anderson passed your letter on to me. We are pleased that you liked the October issue and we will send a copy of your letter on to Mr. Gottschalk so he can share in the glory.

You're welcome to reprint the article. While we don't require it, we would appreciate your saying it originally appeared in South Today. That way, perhaps, we will get more readers.

And, 25 copies of the October issue are being mailed to you under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

cc: Mr. Shimon Gottschalk

November 1, 1971

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
3724 Warrington Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

Dear Raymond:

I know that you are absorbed in many other matters, but I thought you may like to review the enclosed article on parasites which I just received today for the medical issue. To update you: I also have the black lung article in hand and should be getting shortly a follow-up article on St. Jude Hospital and the child reported on in the Memphis Commercial Appeal story some months back. I have verbal permission from Ray Marshall to use your paper. Since Dr. Schaeffer apparently has been silenced as an author I have decided to do a short summary of the nutrition survey myself, drawing on Schaeffer's published comments in the Washington POST following release of the report in April, 1971.

Please do not feel that I am asking you to spend a great deal of time on the enclosed. I feel with maybe one or two stylistic lapses, he has handled the material very well--but I would feel safer to know that you had read it. If there just isn't time I will understand.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

Enclosede

52 Fairlie St., N. W. ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~

November 2, 1971

Mrs. John Faulkner
406 University Avenue
Oxford, Mississippi 38655

Dear Mrs. Faulkner:

I enclose a copy of the recent issue of South Today. The lead story, "The Beat Is Changing," mentions your husband's book. We had hoped to have enought space to run excerpts from Uncle Good, but it just didn't work out that way. Anyway, we thank you very much for granting us permission to use the excerpt.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh
Enclosure

52 Fairlie St., N. W ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~

November 2, 1971

Mr. James Clotfelter
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dear Jim:

Congratulations on getting the editorship of the Southern Journal.

Bob Anderson and I would be glad to talk to you any time you can get downtown. Just give us a ring when you're heading our way.

By the way, we've moved from old No. 5 Forsyth. We're now located on the second floor of 52 Fairlie St., catty corner from the Old Post Office.

Best,

Kitty Terjen

KT/rh

52 Fairlie St., N. W. xxxxxxxxxxxx

November 2, 1971

Mrs. R. J. McCamy, Jr.
145 West Sycamore Avenue
Wake Forest, North Carolina 27587

Dear Mrs. McCamy:

I have just finished reading your manuscript on the Student Theatre Guild and I think with some additional work it might be suitable for South Today.

I am returning your original manuscript and a photocopy with my comments penciled in. And just to be on the safe side, I am also returning your photos so they won't get lost in the meantime.

I would suggest that you read the attached article on theatre on the South for background. In addition, you might want to contact Mrs. Nancy Hager, Academy Theatre, 3213 Roswell Rd., N. E., Atlanta, Ga. about their program. It is somewhat unique, but also similar to the N. C. program you described.

I feel you particularly need a strong conclusion to your story. In the concluding paragraphs you might comment on the significance of the project as related to regional theatre; what its uniqueness is; how it helps the young people; how it enriches our lives, etc.

There is no rush for this, because we won't have space until after the first of the year.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

Enclosures

52 Fairlie St., N. W.xxxxxxxxxx

November 2, 1971

Mr. Herman Popkin
Blue Star Camps
1104 Crescent Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Herman:

Hank and I have plans to be out of town the weekend of the CU meeting, but in the event our plans change, we'll be there. If not, I will try to send a "representative."

I was in Chicago for the day yesterday, but did find five minutes to chat with Eleanor. I told her about the meeting and she said she wished she could be there, but had committed herself to something else.

Sad news: Hank is being transferred to New York; he'll probably go immediately. I'll stick around here til the first of the year, but things are going to be hectic and I fear I'll be able to lend you only moral support and a few names in your CU attempt. If I can interest her, would you be interested in getting Lady McGill (Mrs. Ralph, Jr.) interested in CU? She's my best friend and she's used to my getting her involved in my pet projects.

Best,

Kitty Terjen

KT/rh

November 2, 1971

Mr. Robert Sherrill
617 North Carolina Avenue, SE
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Bob:

You have a point. Surely ol Roger belongs up there with the best including--as only a partial suggested list--Commodore Vanderbilt, Mitchell Palmer, Mark Hanna, Joe McCarthy and Louis Lepke Buchalter.

Not wanting to blow his cover, I have asked our correspondent to tell me what he thinks of your adjudication and I'll pass his comments on subsequently.

It would be fun to put together a pantheon of American villains, rouges, scoundrels, mountebanks and genuine poltroons. The country's big enough already, surely, and the list could be miles long. I nominate you to write their citations.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

52 Fairlie St., NW xxxxxxxxxxx

November 8, 1971

Mrs. Judith Krug
American Library Association
50 E. Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Dear Judy:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the pertinent hearings before the Mondale committee on private schools. Reese's testimony and Dr. William Pressley's give general background on the segregation academy movement. IRS Commissioner Thrower's testimony outlines the IRS procedures.

If you have time, do read Mondale's questioning of Thrower, and the bit on the Heritage School beginning p. 2197. It all gives insight into to the problem of defining a seg academy.

More later.

Best,

Kitty Terjen

KT/rh

November 9, 1971

Mr. A. C. Barton
410 East Elm Street
Eldorado, Arkansas 71730

Dear Mr. Barton:

We received your communication regarding your interest and project. We do not have any open-staff positions (not even part-time) or consultation funds which could be made available for the projects you are proposing.

I hope you will have better luck elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

November 9, 1971

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
250 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

We were distressed to hear of your illness, but your office has now given a somewhat encouraging report. I would like to add my own personal best wishes for your quick return to health and to a leadership which we all need greatly.

I trust your staff will know that we stand ready to be of assistance to them in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

November 9, 1971

Mr. John P. Sisson
Executive Director
Human Relations Commission
Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear John Sisson:

Thank you for sharing with me your proposal for a metropolitan fair housing organization in the New Orleans area. I am convinced of the need for this type organization.

I think your proposal covers the necessary aspects of housing discrimination, however, I have some slight differences with what I detect to be the thrust of your item number one---- "Attitude Change." I believe that the changing of attitudes should be incidental to the process of informing minorities in the housing market of their right to a certain range of housing choices, of specific aspects of the housing units (e.g. location, cost, kind of construction, realtor) and of resources available to assist them in handling any acts of discrimination encountered in acquiring a certain unit. This approach places more emphasis on individual assistance and its immediate goal is the acquisition, for minorities, of suitable housing in desired locations in spite of the prevailing racial concentration. (For what it's worth, I am enclosing the program section of our proposed Atlanta program.)

You asked about places where similar programs have been tried. Two come to mind that I consider excellent models: The Housing Opportunity Council of Metropolitan Washington, D. C., and Operation Equality in Cleveland, Ohio. I have heard a number of good things about Louisville, Kentucky's program but have not had a chance to look at it first hand. (See attached list for contact persons at above name organizations.) I am enclosing comprehensive lists of professionally staffed metropolitan fair housing centers and of citizen organizations in the South concerned with equal opportunity in housing.

I am unwilling to draw any conclusions about the present financial possibilities for this type venture. The Ford Foundation has provided considerable funding for similar programs in the past and is still supporting the ones in Cleveland, Washington and Seattle. However, most people I have talked with, with some experience in this area, express the opinion that foundation interest is waning. However, some such programs have received government funds. The Louisville program has OEO funds. The U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development funded the legal action component of the Chicago Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities. (I see that you have Mr. F. Willis Caruso of the latter organization on your list of consultants.)

In seeking funds for the Atlanta program we contacted Mr. Kenneth Holbert, Director of Equal Opportunity in Housing for HUD. His department is currently seeking allocations for additional programs (10 cities) like Chicago's. It probably would be a good idea to contact Holbert (address on attached list).

I hope you are successful in getting your program off the ground and I will gladly assist you in any way that I can.

Sincerely,

Arthur Campbell, Co-Director
Housing and Planning Program

AC/rh
Enclosures

List of Contacts

1. Mr. James Harvey
Executive Director
Housing Opportunities Council of Metropolitan Washington
711 Fourteenth St., N. W., Suite 805
Washington, D. C. 20005

2. Mr. Joseph Battle
3129 Keswick Road
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120

3. Mr. Kenneth F. Holbert, Director
Equal Housing Opportunity
Department of Housing and Urban Development
451 Seventh St., S. W., Suite 5106
Washington, D. C. 20410
Phone (202) 755-5970

November 10, 1971

Miss Thomasene Leggette
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Thomasene:

Have you gotten your theatrical project off the ground yet? We have been at a sort of standstill recently because expenditures have been suspended.

I am planning to visit colleges in Alabama November 22-30 and would like for you to arrange a meeting of interested students at Southern and other schools where you have contacts. We have drawn up a new proposal spelling out in more detail our areas of concern, also a new brochure (should be completed by November 22). This month's newsletter should reach you before or soon after this letter.

I know we are running behind schedule recruiting college students this late in the year, but maybe this way our projects will be more manageable. I am writing a letter to Birmingham Southern SGA, will you check to see if they get it and see if they are interested?

Thanks loads.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall
School Desegregation Project

November 10, 1971

Sherrill Marcus
Miles College
Center for Elected Officials
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sherrill:

I am planning to visit some colleges in Alabama November 22-30 and would like for you to help in arranging meetings to discuss school desegregation. These are the schools I plan to visit:

- Miles College
- University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa
- Auburn University
- Alabama A & M
- Selma University
- Birmingham Southern
- Daniel C. Payne
- Stillman

Do you have student contacts at any of them? If so, will you please forward them to me.

I received your response to "Summer '72"--thanks. We will be in touch when we are ready to recruit.

Have you seen Thomasene lately? How is your project? Give my regards to the family.

Equality,

Leon Hall,SDP

PS: I have written Thomasene asking her to arrange a meeting at Southern. If you can pull together a meeting or meetings in the B'ham area, try and coordinate with her.

November 10, 1971

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Redding Sugg
3804 Healy Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38111

Dear Redding:

Many thanks for the dispatch with which you got the additional material to me. You have handled a difficult subject very well, indeed.

Redding, we have an article written for us by Dr. Wheeler which deals in great depth with the material you mention on the last half of page 3 and first half of page 4. I feel that there is some duplication and with your permission I would like to cut from yours, since as you point out on page 4 of your article, the research you mention is not actually part of St. Jude's program. I do need to cut a little to accommodate your additional material on MAP-South and that seems the logical place.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

November 12, 1971

Mr. Robert Sherrill
617 North Carolina Avenue SE
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a message from J.O.B. Would it be a dreadful indecency for me to say that he seems very patient with you?

Incidentally, I think he might have a good idea about your cremating ol Roger. How's about it?

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

Enclosure

November 12, 1971

Mr. Bernard Aronson
BECKLEY NEWSPAPERS CORP.
P.O. Drawers "P" and "R"
Beckley, West Virginia 25801

Dear Mr. Aronson:

I am sorry to be so terribly late in responding to your paper on Black Lung. We have it. We like it and we will publish it. It will appear in the upcoming issue of New South which will be devoted to health related matters.

You will be receiving page proofs from our editor, Bob Anderson, before too long.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gs

November 12, 1971

Members, Afro American Association
c/o Mr. John A Bivins
Box 1932
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Brothers & Sisters:

The School Desegregation Project of the Southern Regional Council has concentrated twelve months of activities to draw attention to the needs of high school students in the in-school situations and to work with students on the following premises: Large-scale school desegregation is a reality/ all students are adversely affected by the mishandling of in-school situations; and students see through and react against the contradictory behavior of those establishment educators and their conservative supporters who perpetuate educational wrongs against students.

This past school year we were in touch with Brother Bivens concerning recruiting members of the Association to volunteer and work with high school youth in their respective home communities. We are planning a tour of certain select schools in Alabama November 22-30 and would like to meet with any interested students in your organization on one of these dates.

We are enclosing brochures (under revision) and several copies of our monthly Newsletter. Will you please circulate this material and contact us by letter or phone (404-522-8764) on or before November 18 and let us know if there are interested students and what date and time is best for you and them.

John Bivens and Dianne Kirksey are two of your members who have spent quite a bit of their time addressing themselves to the plight of students in the in-school situation and I am sure they will be more than happy to share with you some of the insights they gathered this summer.

kns very much.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
School Desegregation Project

LH/gms
Encl.

November 12, 1971

Mrs. Elizabeth Tornquist
26 Georgetown Manor
1000 N. Duke Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Elizabeth:

I've never gotten official word either nor a copy of Ginna's note to you. The remaining portion of the grant has not come--but I have just presumed that they will act, without my prompting them, since they have decided to do so.

I'm glad to hear that the Christians have been active.

Sincerely,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

November 12, 1971

Indiana University
Office of Admissions
School of Law
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Sir:

I am writing to offer my personal recommendation that you consider and accept Mr. Ernie Collins as a student in your School of Law.

Mr. Collins has voluntarily worked closely with a program of the Southern Regional Council called the School Desegregation Project. In this project we are recruiting college students to work in bi-racial teams in Southern communities assisting high school youth in making the adjustment to the unitary system. We have concentrated our energies on opening and strengthening lines of communications between students across racial lines. I am sure you are well aware that is is a diffucult task.

Mr. Collins has shown in his dealings with us a genuine committment to mankind and a willingness to embark ypon the "hazard strewn" trail of race relations in the South. We think Mr. Collins has the qualities that are necessary prerequisites to eliminating man's inhumanity to man under law.

I urge you to strongly consider Mr. Collins for admission.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
School Desegregation Project

LH/gms

Reading File

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

November 16, 1971

Miss Sophia Bracy
562 Pitts Street
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Sophia:

How is Auburn this year? Did Georgia and Bernice fill you in on the Institute? I am sure they did. Butch and I have spent a lot of time trying to "hatch" out some of the kinks in the Project from last year and we now feel we are ready to get down to the business of recruiting.

I am planning to be in the state of Alabama sometimes in December. I will forward a probable date later. I would like for you to setup a meeting of interested students. I know this is right at the Christmas period, so if you don't think it is a good time, please call me collect and let me know.

Will you contact Bernice. Perhaps she could help in arranging the meeting. We are mailing this month's Newsletter under separate cover. Please give us your comments on it. We are also working on a new brochure that should be ready by the time I come to Alabama.

If it is too difficult to arrange the meeting at school, we could meet at Bernice's office or in someone's home.

I am planning to visit Miles, Daniel Payne, Selma University, Birmingham Southern, Stillman, University of Alabama, and possibly Alabma A&M in Huntsville. Do you know of any good people at any of them? If so, please send me their names and addresses.

How is Georgia? Your mother? Whatever happened to the sister from Selma? Kids at Selma High sure need her help.

Your Brother,

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
School Desegregation Project

LH/gms

November 16, 1971

The Public Affairs Research Council
300 Louisiana Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 60702

Gentlemen:

We read with interest the Times Picayune (Oct. 2) report on your study of the degree of school desegregation in Louisiana and of white reaction to massive desegregation.

We would be very grateful if you would send us a copy at your earliest convenience. Please direct it to my attention and bill us for any charges.

If you have data on the number of Louisiana students in desegregated public schools presently--1971-72 school year--are they in shape to share with our School Desegregation Project?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

November 17, 1971

Mr. George Herman
CBS News
524 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Herman:

On the CBS 6:30 News of November 16 you broadcast an item about vaccines and their effectiveness. Could we obtain a transcript of your broadcast--not for further public use but for our own research files? If so please let me know what the cost would be.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 17, 1971

Mr. Steve Van Evera
2901 Regent Street
Berkeley, California 94705

Dear Mr. Steve Van Evera:

I haven't gotten galleys back yet or I would enclose them with what I have enclosed. There seems to be some conflict with the figures you supply and the figures cited in the article I know it says their figures also include food stamp costs, but it seems to me the food stamp differential should be constant-- and it isn't. If you could, also, cite your source in the table you supplied it might clear things some. I'm perplexed. The article enclosed is taken from Mountain Life and Work, published by the Council of the Southern Mountains, September-October, 1971.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

November 17, 1971

Mr. Richard King
612 C Street, NE
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Mr. King:

Space limitations prevented our using your article in the fall issue. However, we have scheduled it for the next issue.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 17, 1971

Mr. Abraham L. Davis
Department of Political Science
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mr. Davis:

Thank you for letting us read your paper on rapid transit. It impresses me as a very thorough piece of work. However I do not believe it is really presented in such a way as to be suitable as an article in either of SRC's publications. I feel the audience for such a paper would be fairly select. Perhaps you should consider a more specialized type of publication.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

November 17, 1971

Mr. W. W. Finlator
The Pullen Memorial
  Baptist Church
Hillsborough Street at
  Cox Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605

Dear Mr. Finlator:

Thank you, indeed, for letting us read your good and honest talk.

It is a most timely commentary. I am afraid, however, that for the next few issues of both publications we are already overscheduled. Let me suggest that you try it with KATELLEGATE, the quarterly journal of the Committee of Southern Churchmen. The address is: PO Box 12044, Knoxville, Tenn. 37212.

Again, our thanks for thinking of us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encl.

Reading file

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

November 17, 1971

Messrs. Bayard Rustin and Donald Slaiman
Joint Apperenticeship Program
Institute of the Joint Apprenticeship Program
162 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard and Don:

I would like to be counted in on the continuation of the Journeyman Feasibility Study. Unfortunately, I will be unable to make the meeting at Bal Harbor on November 21. Please accept my regrets for that and keep me informed regarding further activities.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gs

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

Reading

November 17, 1971

Mr. J.W. Holder
North Carolina AFL-CIO'
P.O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605

Dear Bill:

I am delighted to see that Wilbur Hobby is being honored by a testimonial dinner. It would be my pleasure to have my name appear as a sponsor.

Unfortunately, I will be unable to attend the cocktail party on November 23.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

November 17, 1971

Reading

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ginna:

Glad to know that you are working on the property values problem. Enclosed is a copy of our Tax Study. As you can see, it was done by Eva Galambos, who is a private research consultant. I feel certain that she could do a good job for you, but would not hazard to guess as to when (depends on what contracts she now has) or for how much. She can be reached at 5070 Tremble Road, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30305; (404) 255-4430.

Also you might want to consider Prof. Donald Escarraz who is a tax specialist at the Institute of Government at the University of Georgia. He critiqued the Galambos Study for us. He struck me as knowledgeable and responsive.

Also at the University of Georgia is Horace Barker who has worked with us on several occasions and who is now doing graduate study. If you will look on page 68 of our "The South and Her Children", you will note that Barker paid attention to property values in his study of Clarke County, Georgia. Again, I don't know how available he is but my understanding is that he would welcome work on a fee basis.

I think you could start with Prof. Escarraz and decide for yourself how much of a task it would be. It is conceivable that he would have a graduate student that might work on the problem.

Please let me know if you would like to have further suggestions.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encls.

November 17, 1971

Miss Ann Redding
165 Llyod Avenue
Providence, Rhode Island 02906

Dear Ann:

I received your letter and am quite surprised and pleased to hear from you. I am glad to hear you are back in school. Yes, we discussed Reich and Listen Little Man is one of his better books. Check out The Murder of Christ.

Here are the names and addresses of a cross-section of SNCC's leadership in the period you mentioned, with afew comments about each:

John Lewis--Former Chairman of SNCC, 1963-66? He is
presently Director of Voter Education Project.
A really beautiful brother.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-7495

Julian Bond--He was Public Relations Director under John
Lewis. Presently, State Representative for
Georgia.
206 Sunset Street
Atlanta, Georgia
(404) 524-6005

Stanley L. Lewis--Former Program Director. Presently with the Cummings Foundation
Write in care of John Lewis or Julian Bond.

Willie Ricks--Brother Ricks was a key organizer in SNCC's inception in Nashville, Tennessee around 1960 or 1961. He was and is a close confidante of Stokley's. Ricks is credited with being the person who first chanted "Black Power" on "The Meredith March" in 1966.
759 Primrose Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(404) 622-2592
Ricks is presently working at the H.Rap Brown Study Center.

I strongly urge you to contact them immediately. I am sure you will get a prompt response. If you receive any "red tape", feel free to mention me.

Upon completion of your paper, I would love to receive a copy. Stay in touch.

Harambee,

Leon Hall

LH/gms

November 18, 1971

Dr. Robert Coles
Harvard University Health Services
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Bob:

I don't know when I've had such a pleasant surprise as receiving your books yesterday. I'm proud to have them, and look forward to reading them. What you're doing, saying, is so damned important.

I am looking forward to starting on the FBI book next week. Again, thank you. Stephen Gillers is indeed a pleasant person, and it turns out that the editor they have at Doubleday, Thomas Congdon, is one I have corresponded with about his possibly handling my stuff in the future.

Again, congratulations on the books.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

November 18, 1971

Mr. Thomas B. Congdon Jr.
Senior Editor
Doubleday & Company, Inc.
277 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letter. I am excited (and not a little awed) over the FBI book.

As soon as I get a look at the material and get some grasp of what needs to be done, I would very much like to discuss it with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

November 18, 1971

Mr. Donald W. Shriver Jr.
Director, Urban Policy Study
Urban Affairs and Community
  Services Center
North Carolina State University
Box 5666
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

Dear Mr. Shriver:

I am enclosing the following material on black elected officials in the southern states:

(1) The introduction to "Black Elected Officials in the Southern States," published Jan. 8, 1969 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The rest of the report is a list of names and addresses of office-holders. The report is out-of-print, but if the list would be helpful to you, I would be happy to send you a file copy--which we would of course want returned when you were done with it.

(2) An up-date of statistics on black elected officials published by the Voter Education Project, Inc. (no longer affiliated with SRC) in August, 1971.

(3) Copies of two pages from Donald R. Matthews, James W. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966, 551 pp.) which contain about as much statistical material on pre-1960's black office-holders

as is available.

I hope this takes care of your needs. If we can be of further help, please call on us. And good luck with the book.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

Enclosures

52 Fairlie St., N.W.xxxxxxxxxxxx

November 18, 1971

Miss Lois Muss
Apartment 2 NW
321 West 94th Street
New York, New York 10025

Dear Lois:

Hope you were pleased with the final outcome. I cut the number of pictures, but I still ended up having to cut an awful lot of your stuff. I hope I wasn't too insensitive with the razor.

I thought you'd be better qualified to deal with the enclosed than I. I think it needs some kind of reply, but don't write a tome unless you want to.

Ironies of ironies. My husband is being transferred to NYC, and I must resign my positionsat South Today and look for gainful employment in the big city. Any openings at the Capitalist Reporter? Or better yet, how'd you like to get revenge: I'll be the freelancer and you can be the mean editor.

Oho. Anyway, perhaps we can smoke the peace pipe over drinks one of these days soon.

Best,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh
Encls.

November 18, 1971

Mr. Gilbert A. Wilson
Minority Recruitment Officer
American Society of Planning Officials
1313 E. 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Brother Wilson:

Thank you for the information that you recently sent me on the National Black Planning Network. It is encouraging to know that you and your colleagues have been able to accomplish so much toward the increased influence of non-white planners on the policies and practices of ASPO and AIP.

In your letter you indicated that certain additional information was available upon request. I would appreciate it if you would send me the following:

1. List of non-white planners.
2. Copy of ASPO-Ford Fellowship Program Annual Report.
3. NBPN By-Laws and minutes of recent meetings.

Thanks again, and please let me know if you think there is certain assistance I can provide.

Sincerely,

Arthur Campbell
Co-Director, Housing and Planning

AC/rh

November 18, 1971

Publications Editor
Research Division
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Deqr Madame (or Sir):

Does NEA continue to publish the annual "Rankings of the States"? If so, we would very much like to have a copy of the most recent one available. The last we are able to locate in our library is 1966.

Please send it to my attention, if it is available, and bill us. We are not enclosing a check herewith sincd we are not sure it is still published.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

November 19, 1971

Mr. Bernard Aronson
Beckley Newspaper Corporation
P. O. Box P
Beckley, West Virginia 25801

Dear Mr. Aronson:

In what must be a recond for the post office, we received your corrected manuscript today, criss crossing our mailing to you. It won't be necessary--unless you want to take the trouble--to make the substantive changes on the galleys.

It is an excellent piece of work and I am happy that NEW SOUTH will be publishing it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 19, 1971

C. Robert Skinner
105 Riverwood Drive
Apt. 201
Cayce, South Carolina 29033

Dear Mr. Skinner:

Thank you for your query. We have in the past dealt with the S.C. Independent School Association in two reports, copies of which are enclosed. If there is new and fresh material or if you see the article from a different perspective, we would like to see what you propose.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosures (2)

November 22, 1971

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

I have gone over the poverty material you sent and have recommended here that we attempt to develop a report out of it along the following lines:

(1) Update the material through checking news clips, the Community Netrition Institute Weekly Report, talking with Kramer, etc. This could be used in an introductory statement of what has been accomplished, what yet remains to be done.

(2) Use selected parts of the testimony at hearing as eloquent descriptions of problems, difficulties.

(3) Use selected quotes from Kramer's paper as explanations, background of above problems, difficulties. I think his statements could stand as the comments of an expert, and we could thereby get by without documentation of the many charges he makes. His anger, too, would have legitimate expression.

I don't know what you might have had in mind about timing.

I will be on leave of absence probably until the end of the year editing the book on the Princeton FBI conference, but presumably Bob and others could begin work on the report right away. Jim and Emory have said they will get in touch with you to discuss all this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

November 22, 1971

Ms. Natalie Greenberg
Administrative Editor
Atlantic Monthly Press
8 Arlington Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Ms. Greenberg:

On August 30, 1971 you wrote me for permission to include our 1967 report "Hungry Children" in a book Atlantic is publishing by Bob Coles. I wrote you back pointing out that it was not copyrighted by SRC.

I mention this by way of raising a question with you now. Since the report was never copyrighted by us we have frequently granted permission for it to be reprinted without any terms other than that normal credit lines be given. In September, 1970, I granted such permission to Dr. Warner Wilson allowing him to publish it in a book he was then planning. I am now in receipt of a letter from his publisher Brooks/Cole Publishing Company of Nonterey, California, asking that I reaffirm my permission since Bobbs-Merrill, the company that orginally intended to publish his book, is no longer doing so. It has occurred to me that, since I wrote you in September, either

Atlantic or Mr. Coles himself may have copyrighted the report. If so, I would like to inform Dr. Wilson's publisher of this so that proper permissions can be given.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 22, 1971

Mrs. Ginny Decker
Permissions Editor
Brooks/Cole
Publishing Company
540 Abrego Street
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Mrs. Decker:

Thank you for your note of November 17. When I granted Dr. Wilson permission to reprint "Hungry Children" in September 1970, it was not copyrighted. Since then I have heard from Atlantic Monthly Press that the company is publishing a book by Robert Coles (one of the authors of the report) in which "Hungry Children" is to appear. It may possibly be that Mr. Coles or Atlantic in the interval has copyrighted it. I have asked them about this and will let you know their response. Our permission to re-print it, of course, still stands. I don't imagine there will be any problem with this, but I'm sure that all parties will want the matter properly handled.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 23, 1971

Rev. Donald E. Stephens
Bethel United Church
403 East Ninth Street
Texarkana, Arkansas 75501

Dear Rev. Stephens:

Looking over the program of the Law Conference, I agree that it seems to have been a very interesting conference. We are familiar with Prof. Ladd and his works, especially the enclosed paper on Students Rights. We used it last year in packets of materials we mailed to students and administrators.

My associate, Mr. Clarence Wright, is contacting Prof. Fullerton for the proceedings and for any other materials related to the conference. Thanks for the contact.

I suggest the Air Host Inn for housing since it is very near the airport and quite convenient to where Mr. Wright and I live. The rates there are also reasonable. If you wish, I will make reservations.

The Student Handbooks have not arrived. I am enclosing copies of our Newsletter and we are working on a new brochure that should be ready by the time of your arrival on the 12th.

Respectfully,

Leon Hall

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
School Desegregation Project

LH/gms
Encls.

xxxxxxxxxxx

November 23, 1971

Mrs. Ruth Teitlebaum
Executive Director
Norman Foundation
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Teitlebaum:

On behalf of the South Today staff, I want to thank you and the Norman Foundation for the generous grant we recently received. It will not only insure our continued operation, but it will also enable us to commission more original articles and photographs for the paper.

I will be in New York the week of November 29th through December 3rd and I would like very much to visit with you personally, at a time convenient with you. Since this is rather short notice, I will call you when I get to town. If by any chance you need to contact me, I will be staying with my husband at the Warwick.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen (Mrs. Henry A.)
Managing Editor

KT/rh

November 24, 1971

Mr. John D. Furbush
5725 E. Harding, Wolf Lake
Muskegon, Michigan 49442

Dear Mr. Furbish:

Thank you for your query. Your proposed article certainly touches on a little know fact of American jurisprudence and would make interesting reading. I am afraid, however, that for our next few issues we are pretty well scheduled. Thank you for thinking of us and please query us again.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 24, 1971

Ms. Clair Cooper
American Civil Liberties Union
156 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Ms. Cooper:

This will confirm our permission to you by telephone today allowing you to re-print Mrs. Elizabeth Tornquist article "Juvenile Corrections in North Carolina" which appeared in the summer, 1971 NEW SOUTH. Normal credit lines are requested.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 24, 1971

Mr. Charles Humphrey
116 A North Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Humphrey:

Thank you for your recent query to us.

Please do let us read the article.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

November 29, 1971

Mr. Ezekiel Harrison
P.O. Box 1578
S.P.E.A.C. Project
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Dear Brother Harrison:

Enclosed is a copy of the bill for the rental car used by me in my recent visit to Selma, Alabama. If you would be so kind as so send a check payable to SRC as soon as possible, it would aid us considerably in closing our books for the year on time.

I have not forgotten thebbook I promised to loan you. As I mentioned, we recently moved and everything was packed away. You should receive it before the end of December.

I am planning to visit several colleges in Alabama next month, if possible. The present itinerary includes Stillman, Daniel Payne, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, Birmingham Southern, Miles, Selma University, and Auburn University. After I visit each of them, we will probably decide on a priority three (3) for extensive concentration. Do you have any contacts on any of these campuses? If so, please forward them.

Keep up the good work.

EQUAL EDUCATION NOW.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
School Desegregation Project

LH/gms

November 29, 1971

Mrs. Ginny Decker
Permissions Editor
Brooks/Cole
Publishing Company
540 Abrego Street
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Mrs. Decker:

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter we received from Atlantic Monthly Press.

We will be glad to sign a letter of agreement granting permission, but perhaps you should write to Mrs. Greenberg directly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosure

November 30, 1971

Mr. Vine Deloria, Jr.
Executive Director
S.I.C.
1458 Pennsylvania Street
Denver, Colorado 80203

Dear Mr. Deloria:

We are pleased to have further word from S.I.C. Although we are not in a position to offer your organization further financial assistance, we certainly wish to cooperate in any way we can, especially in Texas which is the one state in which our region overlaps.

I will check our mailing list to make sure our materials are coming to you in Denver. Please continue to keep us informed of your own activities and we wish you every success in your efforts.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

P.S. Please note the change of address.

November 20, 1971

Mr. David Morand
109 A-3 Wasserman Lane
Green Bay, Wisconsin 54302

Dear Mr. Morand:

We will be happy to lend you assistance in your proposed study of the MARTA vote. We would have newspaper clippings and other materials related to the vote. I would suggest that you also talk with Mr. Art Campbell of our staff who would be helpful in interpreting not only the most recent vote, but the earlier defeat of the MARTA Proposal.

You should also consult with some of the staff people in the Voter Education Project, which is in our building. I would suggest that you talk with Mr. Charles Rooks there. You might wish to compare a study he made of the Mayor's Election with the recent MARTA results.

If when you get to Atlanta and I am out of town, please talk with Mr. Jim Wood or Mr. Art Campbell who will be able to assist you in getting started.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

December 1, 1971

Professor Byron Fullerton
2500 Reo River
University of Texas School of Law
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear Professor Fullerton:

Rev. David E. Stephens, pastor of United Church of Christ, Texarkana, Texas and Jim Davis, a recent participant in your November 14-16 School Law conference in San Antonio, passed on a copy of the conference schedule to our office and suggested that we contact you for additional information.

The Southern Regional Council is a research and information organization which attempts to confront problems in the area of human relations, economic deprivation, and racial injustice in the southern region. In the past few years, school desegregation has been a major area of concern of the Council.

One of the Council's more recent endeavors is the School Desegregation Project which is presently based in nine (9) southern states. Copies of some of the SDP materials are enclosed under a separate mailing for your perusal, comments, and/or suggestions.

From the conference brochure, it appeared as if materials related to or coming out of the past conference, might be of some asset in our program endeavors. For this reason, I would appreciate copies of any conference reports and/or other materials related to school desegregation. If there are charges for these materials, please bill us accordingly.

Your assistance and cooperation in providing additional information on what appeared to be a well-planned conference is truly appreciated. Hopefully, this can lead to future exchanges of information, mailings, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence Wright, Jr.
Director
Community Organization Division

CWJr/jb
cc: Rev. David E. Stephens

December 2, 1971

Mrs. Virginia Frank
Southern Education Foundation
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ginna:

Regarding your school tax interest you may wish to look at the report of the Conference on State Financing of Public Schools sponsored by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The publication is entitled, "Who Should Pay for Public Schools." It is possible that some of the program participants could offer some expert assistance. I think the Advisory Commission's staff, especially John Shannon, could tell you what they would be able to offer.

Have you talked with the research departments of the American Federation of Teachers or NEA? I would be interested in what response you get from Escarraz.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

December 2, 1971

Mr. Gary L. Maris, Financial Director
West Volusia Council on Human Relations
120 West Pennsylvania Avenue
Deland, Florida 32720

Dear Mr. Maris:

We have your letter of November 5 requesting support of the project of the West Volusia Council on Human Relations. We are most respectful of your efforts in that area and feel that day care assistance for low income families is most important. However, our own financial situation at the moment is especially tight and we have no funds for grant purposes.

I will ask others on our staff to see if they can make any suggestions as to possible sources of funds.

We wish you every good success and regret our inability to assist you directly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

December 2, 1971

Mrs. William T. Mason
Projects, NCIE
2630 Chesterfield Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

Dear Mrs. Mason:

Paul Anthony, early last month, asked the Executive Committee of the Council to act upon his resignation. We will, of course, miss him very greatly. We are well aware of his appreciation of you as a person and of the work that you have been doing over the years in Norfolk.

Your current proposal is interesting and I am sure would make a significant contribution to the educational process in Norfolk. However, our own financial situation is especially tight at the present. We have no funds for grant purposes. It is highly improbable that under any circumstances we would be able to make a grant in the amount you suggest.

It seems to me that your budget is large enough and the program of sufficient interest that a regular foundation might welcome a chance to help finance it.

We are indeed sorry not to be able to further participate in your activities. I will be sure to pass on to Paul your very nice comments ~~of~~ for him.

You have our very best personal wishes and our hope that you are able to get proper funding for your program

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

P.S. Please note change of address.

December 2, 1971

Mr. A. B. Cochran
207-C Hudson St.
Raleigh, North Carolina 27608

Dear Mr. Cochran:

Our offices will be open during the period of December 27-30.

Although I will be out of town, if you will contact either Mrs. Doris Reed or Mr. Bob Anderson, they will seethat you have access to the clip files which you need.

I would also suggest that you talk with Mr. Leon H all and Mr. Clarence Wright, who have worked with our School Desegregation Project.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

December 6, 1971

Mr. Marvin Wall
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Room 1500
1121 Vermont Avenue NW
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Marvin:

It was good to hear from you. The SOUTH TODAY issues you requested are enclosed.

Stay in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Anderson

BA:lb

Enclosures

December 6, 1971

Mr. I. P. Hong
U. S. Information Service
American Embassy
Seoul, Korea

Dear Mr. Hong:

It was so good to hear from you and read your good words about our work. I am glad that you find it useful.

Ten years is a long time between visits. Come back to see us soon.

Best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

December 6, 1971

Mr. Horace Butler
11 Dean Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Brother Butler:

I called Mrs. Helen Jackson today, and she mentioned the passing of Mrs. Butler.

Please accept this note in your time of bereavement with our heart felt hopes that God will give you strength to endure. My family wishes you peace in your time of loss.

Love,

Leon Hall

LH:jb

December 6, 1971

Mr. John Zippert
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
P. O. Box 95
Epes, Alabama

Dear John:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation of last week, I will come to Epes for the PLBA board meeting on Friday in order that we may review the Panola housing project. I should get there between 12 noon and 1 p.m.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Arthur C. Campbell

ACC/rh

December 6, 1971

Mr. Phil Brown
Rural Housing Alliance
1346 ConnecticuttAvenue
Suite 500
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Phil:

Please send me a copy of the new American Friends Service Committee's report, Abuse of Power, on rural housing in Florida.

Hope things are going well in your shop. My regards to Clay.

Sincerely,

Arthur C. Campbell

ACC/rh

December 6, 1971

Race Relations Coordinating Group
U. S. Army Infantry Center
Attn. AJIGP-EO
Fort Benning, Georgia 31905

Gentlemen:

I recently read of studies you have available on race relations in the army. I would appreciate receiving a packet of such materials. Please bill me for any cost.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Arthur C. Campbell
Co-Director
Housing and Planning

ACC/rh

December 7, 1971

Brother Bobby Hill
Emory and Henry College
Emory, Virginia 25327

Dear Brother Bobby:

I was talking with Sister Mary Brown early last week when it struck me that I hadn't written you concerning the other people you asked about for your program tentatively scheduled for early January.

The names and addresses are:

1) Mrs. Viola Cleveland
417 Rennie Gayles
Middlesboro, Kentucky 40965

2) Mr. Carl Johnson
36A Hillcrest Apartments
Asheville, North Carolina 28801

I hope this information arrives in time to be of some assistance. Leon and I would appreciate your comments on the enclosed material. Let us know about your dates as soon as possible. Until then, take care of yourself.

Yours in peace and power,

Clarence E. Wright, Jr.
Director
Community Organization Division

CEW:nm

December 8, 1971

Diane-Venetia Rickerby
1345 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019

Dear Ms. Rickerby:

We have pulled all of Mr. Yarmolinsky's address plates and apologize for any inconvenience caused.

Mr. Yarmolinsky, in his capacity as a consultant to the Ottinger Foundation, has been one of our faithful supporters. We wonder if he would like to suggest that we mail materials to one or more of the trustees.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood,
Executive Assistant

JNW/gms

December 9, 1971

Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker
Assistant Regional Director
Office of Child Development
Health, Education & Welfare
50 - 7th Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

Please, at your earliest possible convenience, may I have a copy of the different programs funded by your office for youth, not including headstart. I understand you do have such information available by written request only.

I am still catching "H" with Tallatoona.

Thanks loads for your attention.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Assistant

/nm

December 10, 1971

Mr. David E. Dunn, Director
North Carolina Fellows Program
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Mr. Dunn:

We have been extremely pleased with the quality and contributions of The North Carolina Fellows who have worked with us over the past three summers.

You may recall that last year our financial situation was such that special funds were found through the University to supply us with an intern.

It is a little ea~~sy~~ly for us to be able to say with certainty what the situations for the coming summer will be. However, we are most interested in having information on potential interns and sincerely hope that we will be able to have someone placed with us.

Our interests relate broadly to the social and economic development of the region with special emphasis on problems relating to civil rights, racial relations and poverty. Specific program areas include Housing and Planning, Community Organization, Manpower, Labor Education, and School Desegregation. Our interests are by no means limited to these program areas.

We would like to begin receiving information on potential interns as soon as it is convenient. Under favorable circumstances it might be possible for us to consider placing more than one student.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

December 13, 1971

Mr. Ernest Schmidt
American Camping Association
Bradford Woods, Indiana

Dear Mr. Schmidt:

As you probably know, I have been monitoring the camping situation (particularly in regards to the new inter-faith, inter-racial policy) for over a year now. With the help of Herman Popkin and Eleanor Eells, I think I have come to have a good understanding of the problems ACA is now facing, and I plan to write a report on camping in the early spring.

I would appreciate your cooperation in providing me membership statistics when they are available in February. And I would also appreciate seeing a copy of Jack Stevenson's report on Region IV. Eleanor has already warned me about the limitations of that study, so I will not use it foolishly.

I would appreciate any other information you feel is pertinent to my subject.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor
South Today

KT:lb

December 13, 1971

Mrs. Eleanor Eells
Camping Unlimited
19 South LaSalle Street
Room 1215
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Eleanor:

I'm writing Ernie Schmidt about Jack Stevenson's study, but I am more interested in the membership returns. I hope he will give me statistics on those, too.

I didn't mention it to you while I was in Chicago because it wasn't definite yet, but now it is: Hank has been transferred to NYC (he has a much more creative job), and I've got to pull up stakes here very soon. Thus, I'll be able to attend the ACA convention in March, because I'll be right there. And I'm hoping to get the same kind of job there so I can continue my interests in camping and private schools. Will let you know my new address when we've found a place to hang our hats.

Happy holidays,

Kitty Terjen

KT:lb

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 15, 1971

Miss Sharon Coleman
809 Garden City Street
Monroeville, Pennsylvania 15146

Dear Miss Coleman:

Thank you for your letter giving us your reactions to the card enclosed in Still Hungry in America which makes it possible for those who want to contribute to the Hunger Fund to do so.

You raise questions about "the system" and about U.S. expenditures overseas. Although we think there are many, many good features about our system of government, we would agree that the government and economic systems still work in ways not to do enough to assist many Americans, especially those at the lower end of the economic scale. And at times certain aspects of these systems have the effect of keeping poorer citizens from getting out of poverty. Regarding U.S. expenditures abroad, we would probably not raise as many questions about whether we send aid to other countries as we would about how it is spent and whether it helps those who most need help.

We see our job, in part, as trying to help the public understand problems that our society faces. We are especially concerned about problems of poverty, hunger, racial relations, and civil rights. It is our hope that the book Still Hungry in America helps U.S. citizens know more about hunger, that it really does exist, and that our whole society should work on that problem.

You will notice from the enclosed letter which we send to contributors to the Hunger Fund that we are careful to say that such contributions cannot cure the problem--they can help. But the real solutions are to be focused in better programs for economic opportunity, family care, the distribution of income, and the distribution of food itself.

We hope you will continue to be interested in such problems and are pleased that you read the book and gave us your reactions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 17, 1971

Mr. Basil Whiting
THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Basil:

This letter follows your conversation on December 16 with Jim Wood.

We have had a number of discussions with James Silver at the University of South Florida, The Southern Educational Communication Association (SECA), and other media people regarding filming the upcoming "Symposium on the Contemporary South."

Ultimately SECA submitted two proposals. For both budgetary reasons and because we feel we may get a tighter final product, we favor the less expensive proposal.

SECA proposes to provide two 30-minute filmed (color) news reports on the Symposium. Their cost to us will be $10,000. The budget includes showing of the reports as features of the SECA network's "Southern Perspective" and furnishing videotaped copies of both programs to the Council for its permanent use.

We are therefore respectfully requesting a supplementary grant of $9,490.00 to underwrite the basic cost of the proposed film.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

December 18, 1971

Mr. Larry Miller
Rte. 4, Box 64
Macon, Mississippi 39341

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 13. As you requested, I am sending you a copy of the current newsletter of the School Desegregation Project and placing your name on our mailing list for future newsletters and publications of the project. The current newsletter is enclosed; we hope to have another one out by January 1. I am taking the liberty of sending you under separate cover a packet of SRC materials relating to school integration which might be of interest. Your name has also been passed along to Mr. Leon Hall, Field Director for the Project, who will, I am sure, be in touch with you when he is in your area.

Good luck in your efforts to assist in the integration process in your area. And, take care.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

Enc.: SDP Newsletter
SEP. COVER: SOUTH TODAY VOL.3 - NO.3, 5, 1, 4
OVERVIEW - SDP INSTITUTE
SOUTH + HER CHILDREN

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 20, 1971

Mr. Melvin A. Zuck, Finance Secretary
Southeastern Regional Office
American Frieds Service Committee
P.O. Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina 27261

Dear Mr. Zuck:

Enclosed is a check for $25 towards support of the work of the AFSC South Carolina Community Relations Program. Please send Your Schools to the Research Department of the Council.

Best of luck in your undertakings.

Sincerely,

James N Wood (gms)

James N. Wood,
Executive Assistant

JNW/gms

December 20, 1971

Prof. Robert G. Culbertson
Institute of Ciminology
Indiana State University
Terre Haute, Indiana 47809

Dear Prof. Culbertson:

Enclosed is a copy of "Race Makes The Difference--An Analysis of Sentence Disparity among Black and White Offenders in Southern Prisons."

I am quite sure it will prove beneficial to your student.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Resources Development Center

GMS
Encl.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 21, 1971

Mr. George C. Land, Coordinator
Career Planning and Placement Service
806 Greensferry Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Dear Mr. Land:

Enclosed are some of our recent publications. You are being placed on our mailing list for future releases.

Thanks so much for taking the time to meet with Alan Thompson of the University of Texas and myself and for arranging for us to meet with some of the other placement officers.

We think that our project focusing on black female employment can be very useful as a demonstration, for providing useful research, and as a temporary additional resource.

We look forward to close cooperation with the placement officers at the Atlanta University Center.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encls.

Reading File

December 21, 1971

Mr. Nick Scheller
St. Francis Church and Missions
P.O. Box 134
Aberdeen, Miss. 39730

Dear Mr. Scheller:

Thank you for your letter of December 17. A copy of the most recent School Desegregation Project Newsletter is enclosed. We hope to have another one out around the first of the year and you will receive it, as well as subsequent newsletters. Your comment and criticism and suggestions will be welcomed.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

Enc.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

December 21, 1971

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Les:

Thanks for the copies of the letters to the South Carolina, Mississippi, and Tennessee Councils. We are very pleased that the Foundation has chosen to give significant support to these groups.

In regards to your note to Bob Coles on Mineral Bluff Industries: The Kahns are probably the best current source of information, Si was to have been back in touch with me regarding possible further union and/or labor law contacts, there are variations on what the story of the past few years really was.

The ILGWU was in the situation some years ago. My understanding is that their choices were restricted by rulings under the National Labor Relations Act and that they could have supported some of the proposed activities only by running afoul of the law. There was probably limited encouragement of some of the aims of the local women by individual staff members. Some of the later attempts by individuals (non-ILGWU) to assist the local people lacked staying power, knowledge, and resources. These problems probably were compounded by too much gut reaction, flailing, and related emotional problems. However, all reasonable men would recognize that the situation was very tough.

Of course, the ILGWU supports not providing training grants in the apparel industries. The history of abuse of such grants is extensive. They also do not look kindly on even lower wage competition. Despite this they have managed in the situations I am aware of to look the other way in the case of self-help, cooperative, or similar ventures.

If greater detail is needed, we could probably assist or you could consult Vera Rony, Martin Morand (ex-regional director of ILGWU, now in Higher Education section of N.E.A.) or Jack Handler (ex regional counsel for ILGWU, now Atlanta attorney). Humans and human events being what they are, none of the stories would be a complete match with any other.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1971
(Proposed)

SYNOPSIS

GENERAL OPERATIONS		
Budgeted	$304,650.00	
Committed or expected	181,000.00	
Balance to be raised		$123,650.00
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Budgeted	554,000.00	
Committed or expected	335,000.00	
Balance to be raised		219,000.00
Total Budgeted:	858,650.00	
Total Committed:	516,000.00	
Total Balance to be raised:		342,650.00

GENERAL OPERATIONS - 1971

ITEMS	1971	1970
Salaries	$ 172,000	$ 190,000
Social Security	8,000	9,000
Travel	12,000	12,500
Telephone & Telegraph	11,000	11,000
Executive Committee, Special Council & Annual Meetings	14,000	13,000
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	3,000	4,000
Office Supplies, Equipment & Maintenance	12,000	11,000
New South, Postage and Fees	5,500	5,500
Postage, General	11,000	9,000
Printing	2,000	2,000
Rent	13,350	13,350
Accounting	6,000	3,000
Insurance		
General	1,800	1,500
Staff Benefits	17,000	20,000
Miscellaneous	6,000	3,000
Reserve & Contingency	10,000	15,000
TOTALS	$ 304,650	$ 322,850

Total Budgeted, General Operations	$ 304,650
Committed or expected	181,000
Balance to be raised	$ 123,650

SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1971

	BUDGETED	COMMITTED OR EXPECTED	BALANCE TO BE RAISED
Grant-In-Aid			
State Councils on Human Relations	$ 60,000	$ 60,000	
Information & Research (other than general operations salaries)			
Printing	80,000	50,000	
Editorial	20,000	15,000	
Research & Consultative Services	56,000	56,000	
Totals	156,000	121,000	$ 35,000
Resources Development Center			
Office of the Director	37,000	- 0 -	
Leadership Division	51,000	40,000	
Manpower & Labor Division	52,750	32,750	
Community Organization Division	41,250	41,250	
Housing & Planning Division	40,000	40,000	
Southern Assembly	56,000	- 0 -	
Public Education Division	30,000	- 0 -	
Health & Medical Services Division	30,000	- 0 -	
Totals	338,000	154,000	184,000
TOTAL SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1971	$ 554,000	$ 335,000	$ 219,000

January 26, 1973

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Committee Members

FROM: George H. Esser, Jr.

SUBJECT: Promotion for Proposed Magazine

In all our planning for the proposed new magazine, I have never doubted that we were headed in the right direction. Our magazine will be more flexible, will permit a wider range of material, will cost no more to produce at current circulation levels, and will be better suited for implementing Council strategy. Furthermore, it is clear that magazines aimed at special interests or regions are the most viable today.

My major and increasing concern has been how to insure that information the Council deems important is reaching the right people in the best way at a reasonable cost. At the present time almost one-third of our annual budget is allocated for publications, directly or indirectly, and I have grave questions about the effectiveness of our mailing list and equal disappointment in the small revenue coming in from our publications. The smallness of the revenue is not only due to low subscription price. It is also due to the fact that very few people subscribe.

Before merging, or even continuing our current publications, it is most important to determine if the Council can (a) expand circulation, (b) reach more of the people whom the Council wants to read the publication, (c) greatly increase income from those who can afford subscriptions and from advertising revenue, and (d) assure ourselves that our investment is worth the money.

Direct mail techniques today permit us to develop information which will help us reach these decisions. But a real experiment will take money.

Morris Dees, McGovern's direct mail consultant and a man who has made a fortune in direct mail, has referred the Council directly to Richard Benson of Atlanta, a promotion consultant for magazines who is based here. One of his major efforts has been to raise the circulation of Southern Living to something around 600,000.

I have had a conversation with Benson prior to a meeting which we will hold with him in early February. His approach, which Dees endorses, is that the time to determine whether you have a saleable product - both in circulation and price - is to plan and implement a promotion campaign before commitments are made for the publication. He has outlined to me the basic technique for testing a publication, and he states that it will be no different for a non-profit organization than for a profit making venture. His approach involves testing at least three different price levels with a cross section of up to fifteen different mailing lists. The initial test would involve around 120,000 names, with an additional 60,000 letters sent to lists that the initial test identified as particularly fruitful.

His estimate for the cost for a dependable experiment is around $40,000, which is about what Dees projected and about what others have estimated to me.

In my judgment we need to move forthrightly to secure the funds to underwrite that kind of experiment. The editorial prospectus is being completed and looks hopeful. But a magazine would be a major venture and could be an increasing drag if it is not reaching the right people at a subsidy no more and probably less than our current subsidy. In my judgment we would be able to cut down the subsidy to the magazine if we reach more people and the right people with the right approach and with the right product.

I have also assigned Jim Wood to arrange for a transfer of our present mailing list from the addressograph to computer tape, since we will have to use the computer in testing other mailing lists. Even if the cost is more than the present addressograph, our current equipment is absolutely obsolete, and we simply cannot hope to expand our circulation with this kind of equipment.

Jim also has the assignment to research the operating requirements for business management of a magazine from 20,000 to 30,000 circulation, the volume in which we are thinking initially.

Although I have no assurance that we will raise the $40,000 necessary for promotion before the next meeting of the Executive Committee, I ask for authority to move ahead with the experiment prior to the March meeting should we secure those funds during that period. In the meantime we are proceeding with the planning using Mr. Benson as a consultant, and we are proceeding with the gathering of information on how to organize for editing and managing the magazine.

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DRAFT

Report of the Executive Director

For the director's office and the administration staff, though fortunately not for the program staff, 1970 was a year of interruptions.

Having spent much of 1969 watching the legislative process as it dealt with the "tax reform" bill, early 1970 was spent in assessing and adjusting to the new law. Substantial time was spent in providing foundations the information which they required to be assured that our programs were in compliance. We found ourselves in the position of having to spend considerable time in "fund raising" for funds already committed.

A major policy decision had to be made concerning the Voter Education Project, which had been the subject of much Congressional debate and was considerably affected by the new law. After the most serious deliberations the decision was made to create a separate corporation - if that corporation could receive its own tax-exemption from IRS. Tax exemption was granted VEP, Inc., on May 14th, and that agency now has its own board and staff, and is no longer a part of SRC administratively. Apart from the legal reasons, we believe this was a wise move. VEP, Inc., is a mature and experienced agency in its own right, more than capable of operating and producing one of the most important programs in the region, as has been shown during the past months.

Vacations were cancelled for the Director and the Secretary-Treasurer when it was learned in mid-summer that the Internal Revenue Service planned to do a full audit of Council affairs. Three auditors moved into our conference room on July 20th, and remained there for more than three months, in what was the most exhaustive audit in Council history. We have not yet been informed of the results of that investigation.

In January, the members of the Executive Committee elected Dr. Vivian Henderson to serve as chairman of that body. During the year, Mrs. Paul S. Derian of Jackson, and Mr. Hodding Carter, III, were elected to the Executive Committee. Members elected to the Council who began service in 1970 are: Mr. Howard Lee, Chapel Hill; Dr. John Monro, Birmingham; Dr. Ray Marshall, Austin; Mr. William T. Mason, Jr., Norfolk; Mrs. C. Bette Wimbish, St. Petersburg; Mr. Earl Johnson, Jacksonville; Dr. Martin Brooks, Pembroke; Dr. James Lawson, Nashville; Mr. Fred Gray, Montgomery; The Rev. C. K. Yarber, Texarkana; and Mr. E. H. Gadsden of Savannah.

Sadly, four of the Council's long and great champions were lost to us by death during the year. They were: James McBride Dabbs, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Gordon Hancock and Dr. W. D. Weatherford.

In a very real sense this department is the nerve center of the Council and in one sense every member of the staff is a member of the department, contributing to it and making demands on it. Field staff feeds information into this intelligence center, not only for their own needs but for the needs of other groups and agencies in the region. (For instance, a report to a day care center on federal funding or a study of the housing program of the Farmers Home Administration.)

The terms "research and information" can be misleading and they are often misunderstood by those who are not familiar with our interpretation of them. To us these functions are programs in an emphatic sense of that word. They are too, I believe, unique both in the degree of results which we get from using them and in the degree of skill and reliability which the Council has developed over a long period.

Our information and research work consists basically of two parts. One responds, the other initiates.

The response function is based largely on our internal collection of information. This consists of clipping and cross filing of about twenty newspapers daily, and of innumerable magazines, community newspapers or newsletters, journals and reports of state and federal governments. Work space is provided for the constant number of persons ranging from students to journalists who come here to use this material and that space is seldom vacant. In addition, more than seven hundred mail and phone inquiries were responded to during the year. This function is not, per se, particularly unique although the subject areas and more particularly the reliability probably are.

(Senator Walter Mondale, Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity commented on July 1: "It is what we can expect from the Southern Regional Council, which I regard as one of the best, if not the best, sources of facts on what is happening in the South, to which we turn almost daily. We are most grateful for the work of your organization.")

The initiating function of the research and information operation is somewhat more complex. In this function we are program oriented, in that whether it be an incident or a basic issue we attempt to get direct attention and action on that incident or issue. Perhaps several examples will best illustrate this approach.

In February 1968, state police fired rifles into a crowd of black students at South Carolina State College, killing three. The Council immediately issued a report, "Events at Orangeburg," which documented this tragedy and warned of the implications. The report received attention and indeed led to a book by reporters Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, but the indignation and thoughtfulness that should have been forthcoming were not. In May 1970, shortly after the Kent State tragedy, state police fired on black students at Jackson State College, killing two. I, and SRC president Raymond Wheeler, immediately issued a statement which included: "The grave warning implicit in the Orangeburg situation of two years ago was not heeded...until such solutions (of indiscriminate force in the face of conflict) are repudiated as public policy from the Presidency on down, no segment of society, no person is safe."

Thereafter an SRC special report documented the Jackson State tragedy and it received wide, and thoughtful, attention from the media. Because of this, and the efforts of many others, the term "Kent State and Jackson State" was added to our vocabulary. It finally became evident to many that what happened at Kent State has long since occured, and continued to occur at black schools.

As another example, on July 2, it was reported to us that a librarian in suburban Atlanta complained that an agent of the Treasury Department had just called on her demanding a list of persons who were checking out "subversive" books. We responded with an urgency which we felt paralleled the situation. On July 9, we published a special edition of South Today with limited circulation which reported that Treasury agents had visited libraries in Atlanta, Milwaukee and elsewhere, attempting to gather the names of people who had checked out books on explosives and, in some cases, simply books loosely described as "subversive" or "militant". Our disclosure of of this intrusion upon the rights of privacy, with all its possible police-state ramifications, was widely publicized throughout the country. The Washington Post, which published the full report on its release date of July 9, called it "a signal service to American freedom" and the Charleston News and Courier commented: "Perhaps it's closer to 1984 than we think."

The American Library Association took immediate steps to make it a matter of policy to refuse to reveal the names of readers of library books and the Association of American Publishers supported that position. The Treasury issued a directive to its agents telling them to stop such fishing expeditions.

A major contribution was made in the protection of the individual from unwarranted intrusion from government. Other examples of the rationale of the use of the printed word - and related associations with members of the media - and the results of these approaches will be referred to later in the report.

Office of the Director of Information:

One of the important requirements of the successful use of the technique of "Information and Research" as a program tool is that those persons immediately associated with that process must be peers of the best creative minds in the nation. There is no doubt in my mind that the SRC staff in this area fits that qualification.

Several persons could be used as examples of this but the activities of Pat Watters, director of information, is a good example.

Watters is the senior person in the department, and as such, has responsibility for its total operation. In addition, during 1970 he has published, by Pantheon, the book The South and the Nation, with its appeal for support of the South's real strengths and opposition to its real evils. Reviews in the New York Times, The New Yorker, Washington Post, Commentary, and elsewhere, and public appearances by Watters have given us further exposure for our ideas and point of view.

Watters' third book, a study of the Southern Movement during the 1960's, is scheduled for publication in the fall, and South and the Nation will appear in paperback at that time. He has had articles in Dissent and the New York Times Magazine, the latter reproduced for distribution to the annual conference of the Legal Defense and Education Fund; book reviews in the Yale Review, and Progressive, and has been invited to submit occasional columns to the opposite editorial page of the New York Times.

Watters appeared as interviewer and narrator in an hour-long NET documentary on the present day South. It was presented in November as part of the Realities series on over 200 stations throughout the country.

Activities of this nature and quality with all of our creative staff gives us an outreach and influence, I believe, with literally millions of persons who must - on that scale - be exposed to issues and ideas if there is to be basic social reform in this country.

Office of the Editor of Publications and New South:

This office, headed by Robert E. Anderson, Jr., has published four special reports, four issues of New South, and has offered substantial editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center and to other agencies. (Currently, with Susan Morgan, he is doing a major study on medical care in the region, and he plans to do an analysis of how the staff can best use the 1970 census data.) The published reports include a study of violence in Augusta, Georgia and at Jackson State University; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the school year; a report on efforts to cripple the Head Start Program in Mississippi and a profile of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida, reprinted in full in the Daytona Beach News-Journal.

New South articles which received substantial attention include the Mississippi school crisis as reported by Wilson J. Minor, an analysis of the meaning of the Wallace election by Ray Jenkins, and the trial of Cleveland Sellers by Jack Bass. (Also excerpts of the book, The Orangeburg Massacre, by Mr. Bass and Jack Nelson appeared.)

Others included an exclusive interview by Willian Winn with Erskine Caldwell, an in-depth look at student activities by three University of Wisconsin professors; an evaluation of Southern churches by Donald W. Shriver, Jr.; an analysis of the "southern strategy" as it affects school desegregation by Hayes Mizell; a look at the religion of poor whites by Harry Lefever, an Atlanta University sociologist; an essay on the South and efforts to exploit its human development by Richard Goodwin, first given at the Memphis meeting of the L. Q. C. Lamar Society meeting; a report of hearings in Jackson on the violence at Jackson State by a Washington Attorney, Harry Huge; an analysis of the strategies available to poor whites in Appalachia by Si Kahn, a young community organizer; excerpts from the book, A Mind to Stay Here, dealing with the work of Lucius Pitts at Miles College; an article on the black writer in the southern experience by Alice Walker, Mississippi novelist; a study of the aftermath of a mill closing in a small Georgia town, by Kathy Kahn; a study of how blacks, whites and Mexican-Americans organized in Houston around a community issue by Professor Harold Nelson; and, an essay on the southern environment by Frank Smith, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

By special arrangement, New South is being received by all members of the newly formed L. Q. C. Lamar Society and has been chosen by the Department of Education of Georgia to be taped in their program for the blind.

This quarterly is the Council's effort to see that there is - from our particular perspective and concerns - one thoughtful and well written journal to reach the interested and the active. We are somewhat surprised, and very gratified at the volume and quality of manuscripts submitted to us and the affirmative response we usually get when some of the best writers and journalists are asked to prepare an article. Authors' fees are few and extremely modest.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH:

In July, Dr. Paul Gaston, Professor of History at the University of Virginia and author of the book The New South Creed, joined the staff as director of research. This is an extremely important position within the staff structure, and we were all the more pleased that Dr. Gaston agreed to take a leave of absence from the University since the research position had been vacant for some time.

Dr. Gaston has worked with Mrs. Doris Reed, senior research associate, and her staff in making some basic changes in the methods by which we collect and file our materials. He has also made arrangements for temporary help to review and place in better order all SRC records before they are turned over to Atlanta University Library. Negotiations are now underway to have our very substantial collection of clippings and some other materials placed on microfilm (as New South now is through the University of Michigan) and offered for sale to universities and others who have need of them.

In cooperation with the editor, the research staff has done a major review of violence in the region during the past three years for a report which will be issued shortly. Tragically, the analysis and editing of this material has been slowed because of the sheer volumn of instances of violence which we found; the first draft of this report, tightly summarizing each instance, came to over 150 pages of single spaced copy.

(Office of the Director of Research)

Dr. Gaston has developed a major interest in the school desegregation process, and is preparing a major portion of the SRC report on school desegregation in 1970 which will appear in February 1971.

THE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER:

Created in 1969, the Resources Development Center was functional for the first time during 1970. The Center is the Council's effort to bring more coordination to our work in those areas dealing with economic development and the development of the region's human resources.

At present we have staffed work in Housing and Planning, Community Organization, Manpower, and the Leadership Project. Additional areas of interest are concentrated on through consultants and temporary employees on a short term project basis. **Dr. Emory F. Via** directs the Center as well as our work in manpower and labor.

Housing and Planning

The Housing and Planning Staff consists of Moreland G. Smith, an architect and Arthur Campbell, a planner. On a temporary basis, Horace Barker serves the division, largely in a research capacity.

The group has undertaken a survey of regional and sub-regional housing groups working in rural areas and/or small towns to determine the extent of activity and those places where this staff might be of some significant assistance. Growing partially out of this has been a study of the housing policies and results of those policies of the Farmer's Home Administration. This will be released shortly.

Consultative assistance is being given a group in Fairfield, Alabama which is interested in sponsoring a low-income housing program. Through the cooperation of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing a consultant has been provided to create a corporation and seek funds for a low-income housing project.

A study is almost completed on the problems and patterns associated with racial transition of residential neighborhoods over a ten year period. This information should be of considerable value to neighborhood stabilization groups such as the one in Jackson, Mississippi with which we are working.

Because of the requests for such information, we have collected materials on the problems of equal housing opportunities, a study of state and local fair housing laws in the South, and an assessment of enforcement of the federal open housing act of 1968. In this regard we are also doing background and supportive work toward the aim of organizing an entity to promote fair housing in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

We are hopeful of providing considerable specific assistance to the Panola Land Buyers Association, in developing immediate and long range plans for its 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama. Preliminary work of this nature has been done with New Communities, Inc., of Albany,Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industries and commercial purposes in the implementation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity, and gas. (We have also given emergency assistance to families now living on that site.)

We have worked with Tuskegee Institute in their interest in Tuskegee's Model Cities program and in the Institute's attempt to establish a regional agrarian medical service delivery program in a five-county area.

Communication continues with the state and national offices of the American Institute of Architects and the American Institute of Planners to urge them to implement their avowed social responsibility.

With the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina, we have advised on land-banking operational techniques and how it might be used for housing development. Toward the end of the year the Council and the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation had tentatively worked out plans whereby the Council during 1971 would establish a regional Low Income Housing Development Corporation with considerable assistance from the North Carolina group. If established, the new regional housing agency would be independent rather than a part of SRC, and would seek very substantial federal funding.

The Leadership Project

Beginning in 1969 the Council created this program as a means of reaching the existing and emerging leadership with information they needed for intelligent decisions which they did not then have, and were not getting through other sources. The project continues to have this purpose but has added as well, a very substantial thrust in achieving program ends through investigative reporting. South Today, the 8 page monthly newspaper, is the primary means by which both efforts are carried out.

Reese Cleghorn has directed this project since its beginning, with Mrs. Kitty Griffith Terjen and Mrs. Betsy Fancher as Associate Editors of South Today.

In October Reese Cleghorn responded to a complimentary letter about a particular article with this observation: "South Today's best function so far, I think, has been in priming the press to do things it wasn't doing. We haven't yet had an issue that didn't produce some of this. Most surprising, maybe, is the extent to which these reports have been covered in some of the worst newspapers in the Deep South, which if the Associated Press picks up the report, frequently carry them just as nicely as a Washington or New York paper would."

This summarizes well, I think, one of the most significant contributions of South Today. Through this publication we have substantially increased coverage of our concerns and facts in the national media, but for the first time we have gotten this material significantly into the total southern media. And, frequently we see where the information is being used without direct reference to source, such as in a number of "moderate"to "conservative" editoral pages.

Among the 1970 reports selected for program ends through publication in South Today were: those which critiqued Florida state programs dealing with migrant workers; disclosure of widespread ownership of slums by state and local welfare departments; exploration of the plight of local-government employees, such as garbage workers, and the need for better city hall methods of dealing with the lowest-income workers; revelation for the first time nationally of the Treasury Department's use of agents to obtain names of borrowers of certain library books; a report showing that "segregation academies" are busing more children and busing them further than public schools (one of only a number of reports on "segregation" academies), and more recently exposure of IRS tax-exempt policies toward them; an examination of racism in Hollywood films and in Southern college and high school athletics; a study of the Catholic Church's performance on Southern social problems; a report on the price of pollution and corporate collusion with government in the despoliation of Amelia Island, Florida.

To illustrate the program intent and the potential of this type reporting one of the above mentioned reports can be cited. The July-August issue's report on four state welfare departments' use of lien/claim laws to discourage people from being on the welfare rolls, resulting often in state ownership of slums, received widespread coverage. In North Carolina, the practices and the bad ramifications were acknowledged officially, and there may be steps toward change. In South Carolina, the state welfare director disputed the report; but at least one local welfare director in his state then publicly disputed his contentions, agreeing with our conclusions.

From Florida, came a sad letter of appreciation from a Fort Lauderdale woman entitled to welfare payments who has refused to sign a statement entitling the state to her small home upon her death. She said she "went out at 72 years to clean homes" to avoid signing the papers. "My loved little home, bought with sweat and tears will not be taken away" she said.

Virginia, the fourth state, nullified all such liens on welfare recipients' property effective May 5. Our report noted the change, but it may not have sufficiently underscored the fact that Virginia hereafter will not be among the South's biggest slum owners.

The booklet on out migration, "The Chickenbone Special," by Dwayne Walls has been expanded to book length and will be published by Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc. During the year the director of the project testified by invitation before the Mondale education subcommittee on the subject of segregated private schools. We continue to monitor the IRS and its tax-exemption policies with these schools.

Community Organization

This division is headed by Clarence Wright, who joined the staff in September after John Lewis resigned to become director of the Voter Education Project, Inc. The primary focus of the project is to maintain a file on all significant minority oriented economic development programs and to provide assistance to them where possible, to assist emerging groups in organization and funding, and to encourage the use of indigenous resources in fostering community development.

The first months of the division director's time were spent largely in orienting himself to groups in the region, which has in turn led to much of our program in the latter part of the year. These included establishing a relationship with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and attending their annual meeting in Selma. Relationships have been established with the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and with the Jasper County Catfish Cooperative.

The division director has assisted in running a training program for the twelve community health trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Comprehensive Health Center. This has included reviewing the training curriculum and supplying additional materials and information for training, and assistance with the recruitment of doctors for the program.

Consultation has taken place with the St. Helenas' Farm Cooperative and if the land is secured by that group, we are prepared to offer technical assistance in developing 275 acres for low income housing and a shopping center.

Substantial association has taken place with the Clay County Economic Development Corporation, headquartered in West Point, Mississippi. In addition to other assistance, $10,000 was provided to the Corporation to assist in the rebuilding of the Corporation's community center after that building was burned,and we have provided $2,500 through a special grant to assist in the building of a home for the widow and children of a murdered civil rights worker. Also, we assisted in having the Ball Corporation provide a free cannery for the community.

The division has been providing ongoing technical assistance to the Black Appalachian Commission in cooperation with the Legal Defense Fund and the Southern Education Foundation. So far we have assisted this group in planning and writing a proposal and in planning meetings with the Appalachian Regional Commission concerning the lack of services and resources available to Appalachian blacks. As a result of these efforts, the Commission recently received a $25,000 grant to carry on their program for the next six to eight months.

(The Resources Development Center)

Following the opening of schools and growing out of a meeting in Beaufort, S. C., the division director became convinced that there was a potential for black and white high school students in new environments of desegregation to work out their differences. He further concluded that black and white college students could be of substantial assistance to these teen-agers in their own home towns. From these observations a special program was developed to recruit college students for this purpose. Mr. Leon Hall, former SCLC community organizer, was brought on the staff to direct the program.

The two staffers, Wright and Hall, have worked to establish first programs in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina with encouraging results. For instance, in Mississippi, the three participating colleges are Jackson State, Tougaloo and Millsaps. Fourteen students from Tougaloo have undertaken this program as their Interim Project of study for the school year. They will be working in their home communities full-time through January 22. Meetings with students have also been held in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, in an effort to initiate programs in those states.

(The Resources Development Center)

Manpower Division

The manpower project focuses on three main areas: 1) labor education, 2) manpower practices, and 3) employment discrimination as a special part of manpower practices. Emory Via is the director of this division, was well as director of the center.

Labor Education

We recognize in the labor education activities that almost no agencies other than some unions endeavor to reach working people on matters that concern SRC. This is especially true in reaching white workers or workers in integrated situations. Our primary focus continues to be on an intermediate range of leaders. We have provided direct teaching services, usually meaning that the project director serves as an instructor. Included this past year have been participations in two one-week schools for young workers, in an institute for public employee representatives and public employers, a regional education program of a national program for national union staff people with civil rights union responsibilities. We have arranged for other members of the staff to take part in education programs such as Paul Gaston's appearance before the Advanced Southern Labor School. The Manpower Program is frequently called upon to suggest resource people for educational programs, to assist in securing such people, to advise on programs'content, and to recommend and supply materials. We also attempt to expand the idea of labor education with unions and others. We have paid special attention to trying to interest southern universities in establishing full time programs. We envision this as a long run solution, providing a needed resource which can go far beyond the Council's capacities. We have had extended talks during the past year with several Georgia schools and preliminary conversations with representatives of other institutions. These efforts have been coupled with approaches to selected union leaders. In this same effort, the director arranged and chaired the Labor Education Section of the national meetings of the Adult Education Association; the meeting was held in Atlanta on the topic: "Southern Labor Education." The division director has been appointed to an advisory committee to the new Labor Education Department at VPI.

Employment Discrimination

In relating to problems of employment discrimination, the year has been an interesting one though perhaps too restricted to educational and consultative approaches as opposed to participating in the start of pragmatic efforts to attack the problems more directly. The director collaborated closely with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations in planning, supporting, suggesting resources, and by his own participation in their first equal employment opportunity conference. SRC was an important resource in this undertaking and it had educational value for those planning the program (and charged with on-going program activities) as well as for those attending it. Somewhat similarly, we jointly sponsored a program with the Arkansas governor's office aimed at showing the need for greater response by state and local governmental agencies in hiring and upgrading practices. Again we were full participants in planning, providing resources and in all aspects of the conference other than recruiting. The project director also participated as a staff resource in an Urban League sponsored program as part of their apprenticeship outreach effort.

The division director has conferred with senior management of a major national corporation on desirable hiring practices for a large factory which will be built in Georgia. This is largely a matter of manpower consultation, but something of the "leadership project" also in that this was something of an introduction to the region for these corporate leaders.

We have played a small part in attempting to get the various sides together in the controversy in Atlanta about adopting a "hometown plan" for increasing minority participation in the building trades. And we have been consulted by both management and union representatives about other problems related to discrimination.

The director of the manpower project participated in a seminar for Southern public works officials sponsored by the University of Georgia. Although his discussion was concerned with several aspects of employee relations, a primary focus was on matters related to discrimination. We have assisted scholars on a number of occasions in their efforts to report particular aspects of employment discrimination. Similar services have been supplied for reporters on in-depth stories. The project director has participated in developing data and reports as parts of other studies.

Manpower Practices

The other kinds of manpower activities have been diverse and generally of minimal program consequence to date. The director has participated in a small national level manpower seminar. We are in the process of developing first a core of ideas, then a seminar, and later some action guidelines and proposals that relate to the implementation of new manpower policies. This effort is directed primarily toward the moves to decentralize certain manpower activities thereby placing greater responsibility in the hands of state and local governments. Although decentralization can assist the efficiency of manpower efforts, it can be done even better if there are reasonably sophisticated "watchdogs" (regarding adequacy and discrimination) and persons prepared to play advisory roles in such manpower efforts.

In expanding the Manpower Project director's responsibilities to include directing the Resources Development Center, we have necessarily reduced the project's activities considerably. Our efforts to hire a manpower specialist thus far have failed.

Other Programs of The Resources Development Center

Largely through the work of Jim Wood, we continued in 1970 to give special attention to the relief and recovery efforts following Hurricane Camille in Mississippi. The U. S. Senate Public Works Committee held hearings, the subject of which was: "Federal Response to Hurricane Camille." We were invited to testify before the committee twice. First at the January hearings in Biloxi where we entered the joint SRC-AFSC Report titled "In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response." Our second testimony was made in Washington in May, and was directly related to proposed new disaster legislation. A new disaster law became effective on December 31, 1970. While this law does not contain all of our recommendations, it is a large step forward. We began in December to work with groups in Mississippi in an attempt to develop a strategy for economic development for low-income families with the ten (10) Mississippi counties most affected by the storm. In August, we went to Corpus Christi following Hurricane Celia. Here we found that administrative changes in the Federal and Red Cross response had brought about vast improvement in the delivery of services to the victims of the storm.

Recommendations made by us and others have been accepted. Unfortunately, many similar recommendations are yet unheeded.

Through the use of consultants we have done further work in identifying poverty among whites in the region, including an unpublished background study of the characteristics of poor whites in an urban area. Other interests, largely in Appalachia, are referred to in our publications program.

The staff of the Center spent a day in Knoxville with the Senior staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority as a means of both staffs becoming more familiar with the work and resources of the other.

Research Seminar

SRC through its Resources Development Center and the Ford Foundation, through George Esser, held a research seminar October 9-11. A small group of scholars gathered at the Biltmore Hotel to consider research needs related to the economic and social development of the South. Discussion was not limited to those topics which SRC might undertake by itself.

A conscious effort was made to have a variety of disciplines represented. Nineteen persons accepted our invitation to participate. They came from 12 institutions of higher learning, and four agencies with research interests. The invitees were joined by two members of the Ford Foundation staff, and eight members of the SRC staff. About half of the participants were new to the Council.

The seminar was important in giving us a new opportunity to think through research needs with people of varying perspectives. It was not a seminar which laid out an agenda of research needs, even though this had been one original aim. It did underscore the utility of what SRC now does and pointed to the need to expand our interaction with existing research efforts. The researchers were, in general, pleased at the opportunity to get to know each other and the Council staff. Our staff has made valuable contacts through this effort with individuals and programs which have already led to idea and data sharing.

If financial resources could be found it would be most useful to carry through with one idea developed during the seminar. This would be to establish a research center as a part of SRC, which could help generate useful research ideas calling for more extensive research than is now generally possible for us, but which would still hold to standards of relatively quick production and high relevance to problems. By using an SRC based research center, we can better select those individuals in institutions and elsewhere who are most likely to be able to perform according to those standards, to insure application of findings, and to provide for more popular interpretation of results where that is indicated.

Education

The Resources Development Center recognizes that there are crucial problems in education that must be faced. While we have been unable to find the funds for a permanent full-time staff member, we have been active. In the reports of the Community Organization Division and the Leadership Project, there are descriptions of a student desegregation program and efforts to expose and monitor the segregationist academies. We made a small grant to the Norfolk Committee on Improvement of Education. The purpose of this grant was to aid the committee's work in introducing Black History into the public school system.

We sponsored in January a meeting of several agencies, all of whom have at least a regional concern in the area of school desegregation. The discussion was around the immediate problems of Mississippi and the expected problems of the fall term which would come with greatly expanded school desegregation. In the spring, Professor Bickel of Yale announced his retreat. We assisted in seeing that he was challenged. The chief challengers were Charles Morgan, Pat Watters, Hayes Mizell, and Reese Cleghorn. In the fall we worked with HEW and private agencies in an effort to make the Emergency School Assistance Program effective. Closely related to this effort was the holding of several discussions about the creation of a Regional Education Institute that could express our kinds of concerns.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF:

We have conferred with two governors elect on establishing state human relations commissions, provided materials to their staffs and hope to interest them enough that we can continue to provide consultative services.

SRC is an initial sponsor of the National Alliance for Safer Cities, and the Executive Director serves on the executive committee of this new program.

We continue to work closely with Ed Stanfield and the Southwest Council on Intergroup Relations, an agency which we substantially formed and staffed during its early stages.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler worked closely with Martin Carr on the CBS documentary on hunger. We are providing assistance to Mr. Carr for a similar NBC documentary on innocent children behind bars.

We have agreed to sponsor a three month trip for the Reverend and Mrs. Theo Kotze of Capetown, South Africa. Mr. Kotze is director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. Others are raising funds for this trip, and SRC will administer them.

During the year we received and briefed more than one hundred-fifty foreign visitors.

During the year we have made grants totaling $18,022.50, to thirty local agencies for food and medicine for children. No contributions received by us have been spent by either SRC, or local recipients, for any other purpose.

The Research Department clips and files some thirty newspapers as well as several periodicals. Its library houses numerous pamphlets, special reports, and books. The Department makes these materials available to other members of the staff, to visiting researchers, and draws upon them in responding to requests for information, especially from the news media.

In addition to these service functions, the Department assists in Council research projects and works with Bob Anderson, the editor of publications, in the preparation of special reports. It completed in the summer the basic research for a new report on violence in the region. It is presently gathering and analyzing material for a major report on school desegregation. (That report will be available in early February.)

The Department is staffed by a Senior Research Associate (Doris Reed), two Research Associates (Barnetta Jackson and Joyce Meekins), a Librarian (Bernice Morrison), and a Secretary (Lynn Bowker). The Director of the Department, Paul Gaston, joined the staff in July, taking a leave of absence from his post in the History Department of the University of Virginia.

Statement by Paul M. Gaston

My statement focuses less on the operations of the Research Department than on my view of the Council and my particular relationship to it.

I joined the Council staff in July, 1970. I am here on a temporary assignment. At the end of my tenure with the Council I will return to the University of Virginia where I have been a member of the History Department since 1957. My reasons for accepting a position with the Council were essentially two.

First, my professional interests have centered increasingly on the history of the southern interracial movement. I have conducted a seminar in this area since 1965; out of the seminar have come perhaps a dozen master's theses and almost that many doctoral dissertations. The SRC and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, figure prominently in my research plans for the future. Association with the Council, as a staff member, clearly holds out great advantages for that research.

Second, like many Southerners who opted for academia instead of activism, my participation in the civil rights movement has necessarily been limited to state and local projects, the occasional demonstration and a modest amount of writing. A long-harbored ambition to play a more substantial role in the movement was put in reach by the offer to join the Council.

For one whose interests lie both in the study and analysis of problems and in the promotion of programs and strategies to alleviate those problems, the SRC is uniquely attractive. Historically, it has been the most influential southern-oriented civil rights organization that has combined the twin objectives of reflection and reform. Professional scholars have published more basic research, and direct action groups (such as SNCC and SCLC in the early sixties) are more easily identified with bringing dramatic social change. No group, however, has so effectively united the two functions.

The Council's dual nature--and the somewhat anomalous position in which it has always found itself--dates back to 1919, when the Interracial Commission was founded. The basic assumption of the Commission, and of the Council which succeeded it, was that social change could be promoted by bringing together in one organization individuals who had not only a deep commitment to change, but also the special skills required to interpret that need to the region, and to the nation.

Fundamental to the Commission's and the Council's effectiveness has always been a reputation for comprehensiveness and accuracy of information. This quality has provided entry to the national news media, and has given the Council's information and interpretations credibility, even in the camp of the nonbelievers.

The Council's ability to sense the mood and direction of the South, and accurately to assess the nature and significance of shifting issues has also been central to its record of constructive influence. Looked at from the perspective of the historian, this quality may well stand out in the long run as more important than any other aspect of the organization. Without this quality, the SRC would have lost its survival value long ago; with it, it has been able to absorb and understand the crises of the moment and intelligently relate them to the larger, long-run goals it seeks for the region and the races.

If these judgments of the Council's history are correct, then it follows that the organization's future success will depend less on organizational restructuring and program development (which are essentially derivative and inevitable in any case) than on a correct estimate of the relationship of the special crises of today and tomorrow to the enduring quest for a just and humane society.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

As a division of the Resources Development Center, the Community Organization Program can be considered as one of the more "action" oriented or field arms of the Council, which is responsible,in many cases, for the utilization of the Council's research data and publications by all sectors of the community. Thus, the Community Organization Division seeks to promote the practical application and dissemination of the Southern Regional Council's more academic resources in mobilizing community based projects.

During the latter part of August, the director of the Community Organization Division scheduled orientation meetings with Atlanta-based regional organizations engaged in community organization in an effort to initiate contacts with other agencies working from a regional perspective, to gather information on potential resources, and to delineate possible areas of coordination/cooperation. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Urban League, and the Southern Rural Project were some of the organizations visited. The information gathered from these meetings, conversations with various staff members and personal considerations were used in formulating the goals of the Community Organization Division.

With the initial assistance of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, field trips were scheduled in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina to orient the director to some of the grassroot economic development projects in the region and to introduce the Community Organization Division of the Council to some local groups. The trips were as follows:

Selma, Alabama - The director attended the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives on August 28 and 29. There were at least 500 members of cooperatives from throughout the South in attendance. The director was able to initiate contacts with several cooperatives, to meet most of the Federation's staff, particularly the field staff in the various states, and to initiate contacts with several youth affiliated cooperative groups in the region.

Beaufort/Jasper, South Carolina - The Federation again provided initial assistance in developing the itinerary for the trip. The following cooperatives and/or community groups were visited during the three-day tour (September 15-17). In many cases, this was the first introduction of the Community Organization Division/Council to such grassroot groups.

On Tuesday afternoon, September 15, the director visited the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and talked extensively with Tom Barnwell and other members of the managerial staff. That evening, the director attended a meeting of the fledgling Jasper County Catfish Cooperative and was given the opportunity to describe some of the Division's activities, resources, etc. to the twelve member group. As is customary, the members in attendance received the subsequent editions of the Council's publications as additional introductory material.

On Wednesday, September 16, the director assisted in running a training program for twelve community health outreach trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Health Center. The director also reviewed the training curriculum and forwarded the information on updated training techniques and material at a later date; and, provided technical assistance to the project director in the area of recruitment of doctors by placing him in contact with two people who have extensive experience in this area: Dr. Regina McCormack, Martin Luther King Junior Health Center in New York and Dr. R. L. Crawford, Department of Health Development, University of Michigan.

Thursday, September 17 was confined to meetings with respective members of the St. Helenas' Farmer Cooperative, a group of six, headed by Mr. Lawrence Washington. Mr. Washington was also extremely interested in receiving technical assistance in developing a 275-acre tract of land for low-income housing and a shopping center complex. Further assistance hinges upon the purchase of the land by the group.

West Point, Mississippi - The last of the orientation/introductory visits was paid to the Clay Economic Development Corporation on October 1 and 2. The various economic development projects were toured extensively. The director met with approximately 22 residents to discuss SRC's programs and resources.

The Community Organization Division's director attended the following conferences during his orientation/introductory period:

Penn Center - As a follow-up to the field trip to the Beaufort/Jasper area of South Carolina, the director attended an Economic Development Conference at Penn Center on September 17 and 18. On the evening of September 16, a planning meeting was held with the Center director, John Gadsden, at which time, possible program areas were drawn from mailings sent to Economic Development/Program Specialists throughout the country and the agenda for the conference was finalized.

The Conference was quite beneficial in that there was a wide range of resources and/or specialists in community development/community organization. Some of those present were: Carl Holman, National Urban Coalition; James Gibson, Potomac Institute; the Rev. Harry Bowie, Delta Ministry; George Esser, Ford Foundation; George Loft, Field Foundation; John Buffington, Clay County Economic Development Corporation and the Rev. Charles Sherrod, New Communities, Inc. The ensuing comments, theory and dialogue between specialist and residents provided a great deal of potential information to be utilized by regional organizations interested in relating to community-based groups.

Chicago, Illinois - The director attended a Minority Enterprise Conference at the Center for Continuing Education held at the University of Chicago.

This conference provided an opportunity for the director to review many of the more successful economic development projects in the nation. Representatives of these projects have been quite helpful in forwarding additional information and material to the Community Organization Division. One of the present Community Organization Division's economic development projects resulted from contacts made with Dr. Moss of the Rutgers University Minority Investment Program. An Atlanta firm, interested in establishing a minority trucking firm, is presently receiving technical assistance as a result of Dr. Moss's referral.

Another Community Organization Division endeavor in the area of economic development resulted from contacts made with representatives of the School of Business Administration at Miles College. The Community Organization Division is presently working with Dr. S. Pares in developing a Minority Investment/Assistance Center at the college which will be available to Birmingham residents.

In a culminating orientation/introductory effort, the Community Organization Division sent out a questionnaire to all Human Relations Councils in an attempt to find areas of mutual interest, ways of furthering SRC's local contacts, and to delineate possible areas of cooperation/coordination (copies of this questionnaire and responses are available).

The Community Organization Division extended technical assistance to two other economic development projects. Black, Inc., a youth group in Miami, Florida. The director in coordination with several groups in Florida is assisting this group in expanding and refining their funding request. Terminal technical assistance was extended to an Atlanta group interested in organizing a community-based day care school.

Technical assistance related to other areas of community development was provided to Mrs. Mary Poole, a Sioux Indian who recently moved to Georgia had been unable to obtain medical assistance and Gisle Notvedt, an exchange student interested in working in Atlant on a hunger project. Mr. Notvedt has temporarily delayed his trip to Atlanta to continue his studies at Lawrence University. Hopefully, he will be able to carry out his program during the summer.

For various reasons, the Community Organization Division has expended a great deal of time over the past two months in the area of program development. The four projects are:

(1) Communications Project - the dissemination of information is a major problem in rural areas. Initial contact and research has been carried out with the assistance of Unity House in Washington, D. C. concerning federal regulations, courses of action, etc. The Division's director is presently awaiting follow-up information which will determine the feasibility of rural community based endeavors to make the various forms of mass media (particularly, radio and television) more responsive to the needs of poor people.

(2) Marietta Project - Early in December, two young ladies approached the Community Organization Division with a request for assistance in developing a "Big Sister" project in their community. These two young ladies have been placed in contact with two local counselors (employed through the Emergency School Assistance Program) who have

similar interests. The project will be initiated this spring.

(3) The Black Appalachian Commission - In coordination with the Legal Defense Fund, and the Southern Education Foundation, the Council convened a meeting of Black Appalachian leaders in Knoxville, Tennessee on November 6 and 7. There were 22 leaders representing six Appalachian states in attendance.

As a result of ongoing, coordinated, technical assistance, the group within a four week span of time pulled together a program which will enable them to:

a. Identify Black Appalachian leadership at the regional, state and local level.

b. Mobilize these leaders to utilize a uniform self-study kit in looking at the problems, resources, etc. in their community.

c. Pull this group together in early March to compile these studies and develop long-range proposals for the region.

d. Watchdog the major resources in the area of the Appalachian Regional Commission for civil rights compliance.

e. Develop a vehicle for determining problems affecting Black youth, particularly in the area of school desegregation.

This Commission recently received an eight month $25,000 grant to carry out their program.

(4) School Desegregation Project - Following the cooperative meeting in Jasper County on Tuesday, September 17, the director of the Community Organization Division sat in on a community meeting attended by at least 75 residents of the county. The meeting had been called to plan strategies for dealing with alleged insults and injustices arising from the

desegregation of the schools. One of the main points of controversy was the charge that white bus drivers were not going into the Black neighborhoods to pick up students. The meeting was highly charged with emotion and several of the adults (one of whom was a teacher) immediately called for a boycott of the schools. At this point, two Black students attempted to shed a new light on the situation by pointing out that one of the main reasons that the drivers did not come into Black neighborhoods was because they were physically assaulted every time and no one would come to their aid. This statement was immediately shouted down by the parents who vehemently attacked the students as "Toms." With this experience, the director began to check out incidents arising from school desegregation in other areas of the South. He found that in most cases the adults, not the students, were participating or setting the stage for many of the incidents with the students bearing the brunt of the repercussions - both Black and White.

It was quite apparent that something was needed to get assistance and resources to those who have to endure the desegregation experience - the students. College students, Black and White, working in their respective home communities as facilitators of communication among youth, guides to other resources and advocates of reason held the key to providing youth with alternatives for dealing with their situation in the schools. (Additional information on the project is available.)

With the $3,000 advanced by the Council to initiate this project, Leon Hall, a former SCLC youth organizer, has been employed to coordinate the field operations. Utilizing the responses from a regional mailing to all Black and White colleges in the South, pilot projects have been established in three states and the seeds of an organization planted in seven others.

The status of the School Desegregation Project is as follows:

(Community Organization Division)

Mississippi - We have a three college pilot project in this state with each school (Jackson State, Millsaps, Tougaloo) providing a state coordinator. Eighteen students from Tougaloo College are participants in a five-week interim program, while the activities of 21 students at Millsaps are coordinated by work study students, Tony Algood and Robert Ferguson. Claude McInnis, a student at Jackson State is the coordinator of their eight-man team. This project has the support of the Mississippi Teachers Association (Mr. Duckworth), the Educational Resources Center (Lee Dillworth), and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations (Joanne Bowman). They are willing to serve as resource personnel.

Leon Hall, the project coordinator, is presently working in the field with the Tougaloo team members as they wrap up their interim program.

Georgia - The response from Mercer College in Macon, Georgia has been quite encouraging. The Dean of the school, Joe Hendricks has enthusiastically supported the project. We also have two campus coordinators, Jimmy Samuels of the Black Students Association and Mike Richey. Because of the leadership potential, the response of the college community and the need in the state of Georgia, we have designated Mercer College as the home for one of our pilot projects. This will be one of the areas of special concentration for the next months. Within the next two weeks, these students will have biracial teams in the field.

For the next few months, Mercer program operations will be carried on at two levels:

1. Program expansion and recruitment on Mercer's campus and other campuses throughout the state.

2. Field operations - At present, the Mercer project has teams working in Macon and Columbus, Georgia.

Other accomplishments registered thus far:

1. Formulation and publication of an introductory brochure.
2. Negotiation of $100 grant from a Macon civic group.
3. Establishment of a school supported office.

South Carolina - Our primary contact is Richard Gergel, a high school student who has organized bi-racial teams in the high schools in Columbia. Richard exhibits a great deal of drive and skill but needs information and technical assistance in the area of program development.

Recently, the team was confronted with a potentially volatile situation at Keenan High School in Columbia concerning the school election rules and an attempt to block Blacks from holding office.

The team immediately set forth a resolution decrying the move, generated outside pressure and squelched the potential confrontation by having the rule voided.

At the University of South Carolina, the Student Government Association has publicly endorsed the project through various articles in the school newspaper. An extensive report by one of the project members, Cynthia Murray, is being used by the Title IV center at the University of South Carolina.

Secondary Projects - Responses from groups in Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, Texas, North Carolina and Arkansas warrant program development in these areas. Information concerning the status of the project in these areas is available upon request. Student groups and/or adult resources have expressed an interest in the project in these respective states. Unfortunately, time and staff limitations have forced the curtailmentof activities in these states.

In our forthcoming plans, program development in these states is our major priority.

What we strive to achieve with the publications of the Southern Regional Council could be reduced, in essence, to this: to tell the reality of the South, to relate that reality to the currents in the overall society, to serve as a vehicle for thoughtful opinion on the subjects with which the Council is concerned, in the process pinpointing, commenting upon situations and conditions which those in opinion and policy-making positions can use to bring about social change.

In 1970 we published four special reports and four issues of New South. In addition the editor has worked closely in providing editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center. Currently he is working on several projects, concurrently with his duties as NEW SOUTH editor. These include a section of the research report on school desegregation in the South, specifically, the chapter on Mobile, Alabama; he is working with Horace Barker, a young writer and researcher who last year did the major work on an important SRC Special Report "The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation"; on a study of housing desegregation enforcement in the South; together with a temporary researcher, Mrs. Susan Morgan, and Dr. Raymond Wheeler, he is coordinating a study of Southern Health Services, a preliminary version of which will be delivered by Dr. Wheeler as a paper at the University of Texas in April; with Emory Via and others of the Resources Development Center is evaluating how the staff can best make use of the 1970 census data; a study of race-related violence compiled by research from five years of newspaper clips is also in process.

This, I think, gives some idea of the range of our work in progress. Some rationale for giving attention to such subjects is perhaps also in order. The housing report was predicated on the proposition that since increasingly school integration is centering around _de facto_ segregation that attention should be paid to how existing housing patterns producing such segregation are being affected by federal enforcement of open occupancy laws. There is obviously here a direct tie-in with the activities of the Resources Development Center--the Housing and Urban Planning section in particular.

The health services report which will summarize the latest research on such matters as malnutrition and inadequate medical care as factors in human development and also survey the availability of and delivery of health care in the southern region, should serve as a valuable tool in the continuing effort to bring adequate health care to the poor of the region.

A study of the 1970 census data is an enormous undertaking. Our immediate plan will be to produce a regional map showing county-by-county racial percentage breakdowns in the eleven southern states. This, we feel, can be done within the staff. A more ambitious undertaking would be a study of the economic status of blacks and whites in the southern region such as that done with the 1960 census data by Dr. Vivian Henderson. This, we feel, will require the full-time efforts for a period of several months of a capable economist or economics graduate student with ready access to computerized information.

These are publications in what are obviously various stages of production. Published special reports of 1970 included a study of violence in Augusta, Ga. and at Jackson State College; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the 1970 school year; a report on efforts to cripple Head Start programs in Mississippi; and a study of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida. At the beginning of the Augusta violence it seemed to us that this was the first real Watts-type riot to take place in the South. It seemed to us also to require a more in-depth look than it seemed to be getting from the wire services. Thus we sent two reporters--one white and one black--to the city. While their report was being written the Jackson State incident erupted; thus we decided to combine reports on the two incidents. After publication and following news accounts of the reports we were contacted by the President's Commission on Campus Disorders. We had already sent them copies of the report and later sent them re-prints of Harry Huge's NEW SOUTH article on subsequent developments at Jackson State. The insights of both, I think, are reflected in the commission's report--although as we all know the president's response to the report has been something less than enthusiastic.

Our report "Voices from the South," gave fuller articulation to a trend we had reported in our school desegregation report two years earlier--the disillusion of black high school students with integration on terms which they saw as shattering their sense of self identity. But the trend had obviously deepened this year, from all reports we had. In brief, we reported on the student attitudes because they represented not something new to us--but, new we felt, to a large segment of the region, including educators and many others involved in varying ways with public education in the South. It seemed to us to usher in a new era in school desegregation.

The background on our Daytona Beach report was not recorded in the report itself. But briefly, what happened was that we were approached by various people within the community there to come in and tell them what was happening. There had been several racial incidents. Certainly there were the elements building up for larger and possibly more tragic ones. The city seemed so typical of a growing number of cities in these times. But the city administration had not yet faced its problems in any positive way. SRC sent a reporter to do a profile of the city. It was published in its entirety in the Daytona Beach daily newspaper.

During the year we published many significant NEW SOUTH articles including, to name only a few, a study of college student attitudes before and after their experiences in Southern civil rights activity; a overview of what happened to Mississippi public schools during the mid-term desegregation crisis of last year; a study of the church and its influence on the lives of poor whites in an Atlanta slum; an uncompromising critique of organized labor in recent years in North Carolina with an examination of the viability of community unions as an alternative to affiliation with the traditional labor movement; an exclusive NEW SOUTH interview with novelist Erskine Caldwell, evaluating the South in the years since publication of Tobacco Road; an article setting forth a bold outline for bringing hope and change into the lives of dispossessed people in Appalachia through community action and organization; a sensitive look at the results of a textile mill closing in a North Georgia company town; excerpts from the book The Orangeburg Massacre dealing with some questionable aspects of the F.B.I.'s investigation of the tragedy in that city three years ago; an essay by a young black novelist on the creative and destructive influences on black writers of life in the South; an appraisal of the work of the late Gordon Hancock, the famous black educator and writer who was a major figure in the organization of the Southern Regional Council. NEW SOUTH, because of the opportunity it offers writers for freedom of expression, because of the quality of that expression, has intrinsic merit. However, it is more than a quality publication, a vehicle for writers. It provides a reservoir of opinion and thought and feeling, hard-headed judgment on realities within the South, indispensable to the development of sound program.

In this brief report I hope the Council's research and information philosophy has been illustrated--the striving for excellence, for reliability while at the same time unequivocally committed to the goals of the Council. It is not easy and we do not always bring it off. We are never satisfied or totally happy with anything we publish because we know that given a little more time here, one more reading there, another day to look through clippings, one more conversation with one more person, a thing could have been better. I don't think this philosophy was created by any one person, but, rather, goes back to the earliest origins of the Council--but it is a way of doing things, an approach --reaching somehow a middleground between journalism and academic publishing--that I would presume to recommend be jealously guarded and retained.

#1

RESOLUTION

AS AMENDED

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the Nominating Committee give greater weight to the adequate representation of women on the Council, as well as taking into consideration factors of race, geography, age and income.
2. That all Council committees, officers and staff be more alert and sensitive to the more equitable representation of women and members of minority groups in all aspects of the Council's program, including membership on task forces, choice and acceptance of fellows and interns, the making of research grants and contracts, and the development of individual, community and professional resources, including the Council's publications. Reports on action taken should be made annually to the full Council.

#2

R E S O L U T I O N

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the Executive Director be directed to appoint a committee to review SRC's Program for the 70's, as it relates, or fails to relate, to the specific problems of women, and to recommend and ~~implement~~ such action and programs as may ~~be~~ appropriate to carry out the purposes and intent of this resolution. ~~including the~~ [illegible] possibility of a ~~Women's Conference as an~~ initial means of focus~~ing on the needs~~, aspirations and potential of women ~~in the South~~.

#3 As amended without editing

?

WHEREAS, THE Southern Regional Council ~~since its inception~~ has Long held to the goal of desegregation of public and private facilites either supported by or existing by sufferance of the people and to the ultimate integration of the diverse elements of our society into a South that will fulfill the purpose of equality of opportunity denied in a segregated society;

Therefore, be it resolved

1. That the Southern Regional Council reaffirm its commitment to desegregation as a philosophy and a practice and instruct its Executive Committee and staff to formulate and publish widely a Statement ~~positi~~on paper on this matter which will speak as understandingly as it can regarding the whole problem of polarization in our society and the problems and promise of desegregation.

PAUL ANTHONY

A Statement By The Southern Regional Council

The Southern Regional Council, in its annual meeting December 1 and 2, 1972, unanimously instructed the President to prepare on its behalf the following statement:

> We wish to pay tribute to Paul Anthony for the services he has rendered to this organization. Mr. Anthony came to the staff in 1956 and served this Council and its region with rare distinction and devotion. His stewardship encompassed a broad range of functions from special investigative reporter, administrative assistant, and field program director, to Executive Director of our organization.

Paul Anthony earned the respect and gratitude of thousands of Southerners in their struggle for human dignity and in the fight to change our institutions into equitable and humane expressions of society rather than agencies of reaction and repression. He was a wise counselor to groups throughout the South who shared our values and goals. He was a source of hope and support during times of crises and despair.

As our Executive Director he presided over a great expansion of programs and staff. His efforts brought many new talents to work with and for the organization. He continued his service to all within the region with a deep concern for individuals and the cause of building a better society. His wisdom, humor, and integrity merit heartfelt appreciation from those who know him and worked with him.

In November of 1971, Paul Anthony requested that our Executive Committee accept his resignation as Executive Director. In this first meeting of the full Council since his resignation, we wish to record our deep respect for his years of service, to recognize again his love for this organization and commitment to its goals, and to express our affection for his unique qualities of personality and humaneness. He was a leader for us in troublesome times, and in those times he contributed nobly to the striving for the realization of the best spirit in man. We his associates over these past years join his friends and colleagues from throughout the region and nation to wish for him continued success both personally and in his future efforts to serve mankind.

Theodore M. Hesburgh

A Statement of Respect and Appreciation

by the

Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council

Theodore Hesburgh has served with distinction on the United States Commission on Civil Rights since its inception in 1957 and as chairman of the Commission since 1969. We deeply regret that his leadership of the Commission and participation in its affairs have been terminated. His stature as an individual of high integrity and deep commitment to human decency will be sorely missed among the official voices of government. Personally, and in his official capacity, he was a forthright spokesman for what our national government should be doing to secure civil rights to all. He was an informed and skilled critic of institutional failures to seek remedies to inequities.

Theodore Hesburgh and the Commission and its staff should be praised for excellent work in responding to its mandate to independently seek information, make analyses, and to reveal failures in achieving the fulfillment of Constitutional and legislative guarantees to assure equality of rights to all. The Commission under Father Hesburgh's leadership has helped awaken the conscience of the nation and has urged the facing of the reality that the whole citizenry needs to be ever mindful both of the importance of guaranteeing rights and of being concerned about human rights and human decency beyond what is legally required.

We are deeply disturbed by the implications of the termination of Theodore Hesburgh's chairmanship of the Commission. The Commission's great strengths have come from the quality and dedication of its members and staff and from its essential independence in the pursuit of its duties. These are the strengths that have given it credibility. And of course they are the strengths that can cause discomfort to some. We regret that Father Hesburgh was asked to tender his resignation, and we share his conviction that the Commission must remain independent if it is to be an instrument to promote social progress. Further, we are mindful of, and responsive to, the view of past Commission member and solicitor general Erwin Griswold regarding the Commission's independence. In an earlier day he said "It is a mistake for us to be asked for our resignations and would be a mistake for us to offer them. It would be an acknowledgement that we are not an independent agency, but are merely part of the Presidential staff....I do not think that that is either the legal or factual situation."

Great damage may have already been done to the prestige and independence of the Commission. We hope not. The nature of the request for Hesburgh's resignation must be seen as having a dampening effect on the forthrightness with which the Commission will undertake its continuing tasks. We urge the Commission members and the staff to continue their bold tradition. And we urge the President in his new appointments to set aside all his fears of the role of an independent agency which, where justified, can be critical of specific agency inadequacies, of the Presidency, and of us all. Our form of representative democracy not only can tolerate such a function, it requires it.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

(1884-1972)

Thirty-third President of the United States

April 12, 1945 to January 20, 1953

A Memorial Statement by
The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council

We wish to express to the family of Harry Truman and to our region and nation the appreciation we have for his contribution to the cause of human rights. As President of the United States, he gave major leadership in seeking an examination of discrimination in our society, and through the appointment of the Committee on Civil Rights and messages to Congress he brought urgently needed attention to the existence of discrimination, to the fact that governmental remedies could be fashioned, and to the need for the nation's majority to face the moral and practical problem of insuring equality for all the nation's citizens. Although the political climate in the country and in the Congress of that day was such as to largely defeat the President's efforts, those efforts had a practical educative effect upon our people and were forerunners of legislation adopted at a later date. Mr. Truman did use his executive powers to establish a committee to promote compliance with non-discrimination standards in Government contracts.

Harry Truman's personal qualities of humor, humble dignity in office, candor, and humaneness endeared him to us and millions of Americans. His stand for justice in those early days when this region was characterized by legally enforced segregation in almost all of life, heartened those of us who dreamed and worked for change. His acts in office were a necessary part of the process that led to the undoing of discriminatory legislation and were a necessary prelude to laws to enhance the achievement of equality.

Lyndon Baines Johnson
(1908-1973)
Thirty-sixth President of the United States
November 22, 1963 to January 20, 1969

A Memorial Statement by
The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council

At this time of mourning the recent death of Lyndon Johnson, we wish to pay tribute to the leadership he exercised as a President from this region in the effort to achieve equality under law and in daily life for all Americans. He worked diligently to support those efforts that led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He took personal pride in efforts to support education, to assist the aged in receiving health care, and to begin significant programs to confront the problems faced by Americans in poverty.

He spoke with eloquence when he used his high office and prestige to call our people to overcome the shackles of the past that caused us to stop short of the actual achievement of equality and the eradication of discrimination. He urged the nation to find greatness by developing a society "where no child will go unfed and no youngster will go unschooled; where every child has a good teacher, and every teacher has good pay, and both have good classrooms; where every human being has dignity and every worker has a job; where education is blind to color and unemployment is unaware of race; where decency prevails and courage abounds."

In messages to this Council in 1966 and 1967 he reminded us how much remained to be done and that the "distance yet to travel is the measure of a challenge worthy of our finest efforts." We wish to express to Lyndon Johnson's family and to our region and nation our appreciation for his best insights and efforts on behalf of assisting the nation towards giving practical expression to humane ideals. We remember him for the challenge he gave the nation to build a greater society. His candor in recognizing how much still needed to be done continues to be a challenge to us and part of his continuing legacy.

PROJECT REPORT: Black Women Employment Program

Beginning its fourth quarter, there are 600 applicants on file with the Black Women Employment Program.

As of January 15, BWEP reports a total of 60 placements and five applicants with pending status.

An awareness or training conference was planned by the staff for January 19-20, 1973. The conference provided the applicants and participants with opportunities to interact with one another, with employer representatives and with national personalities in the employment field. It also provided occupational outlooks, information, and technical assistance related to the "job hunting" process.

February 23 marks the beginning of a new contract year for the program with the Department of Labor. Negotiations are presently underway to re-issue a new contract to the Atlanta program, in addition to a model program from Houston, Texas. The Houston "sister" program is scheduled to begin April 1 under the auspices of the Recruitment and Training Program, New York City. The Atlanta project will serve as consultants to the Houston program.

Proposed Procedure and Agenda For Planning Meeting on Investigative Journalism Fund

Purpose of the meeting: To explore the need and possibilities for a Southern fund to make grants available to journalists, freelance or otherwise, who need help on investigative journalism projects of merit. Reasons for our interest in a special Southern fund include: (1) national programs of this kind have not reached as many Southern journalists as would be desirable; (2) Southern history and current affairs provide probably more opportunities for effective investigative journalism than in other section of the country, and these same conditions have limited the number of such undertakings; (3) such a fund is in line with SRC's interest in better informing the public about what is going on in the South.

To be invited: Jim Boyd, Eli Evans, Hodding Carter, James Stokely, Gene Patterson, Sylvan Meyer, Claude Sitton, Reese Cleghorn, Charles Ferguson, Ray Jenkins, Neil Maxwell, Roy Reed, Catherine Johnson, Jack Nelson, Reginald Stuart, Elizabeth Tornquist, Robert Dilday, Marian Edelman, Maggie Hunter, Dwayne Walls.

Time and place of meeting: To be determined. Probably in February.

Matters for discussion:

1. Is there agreement such a fund is needed?

2. Membership on the grant-making board. Would editors and writers not want to serve because of conflict on story ideas?
3. Relationship of the board to SRC. Can it be independent and recognized as such and still be administered through SRC? Use of grants for storeis in SRC publications?
4. Procedure to be followed on screening and approving grants. Should only Southern writers be considered, or only Southern subjects by any writer? What of Southern writers who want to do a national story?
5. Should we require a letter of intent from a magazine or other publication?
6. What should be goal for initial fund? $25,000? $35,000? Should there be a minimum and maximum on grants?
7. Are there limitations on subject matter because of tax-exempt status?
8. How will availability of grants be made known to writers?

DRAFT

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL MONITORING PROJECT:
Impact of Governmental Decentralization on Minorities, the Poor, and Women

INTRODUCTION

During its recent efforts to focus the program of Southern Regional Council on the needs of Southerners in the 70's, the Council staff continually came face to face with the question of the adequacy of governmental performance - federal, state and local - in meeting the needs of black Southerners, poor Southerners and women. The staff at every turn encountered the necessity to:

1. Determine whether quality services were reaching the intended beneficiaries.
2. Identify the mal-distribution of services or resources in relation to intended beneficiaries, the effects of discriminatory administration, the effects of inadequate and untrained staff, and the effects of lack of planning.
3. Propose ways in which improved services could be provided or better policies could be formulated, such as through increased involvement of the elected or appointed representatives of poor, black and female Southerners.
4. Measure the extent to which problems in education, health, housing, economic opportunity and justice could be documented and the extent to which these needs were being met.

The effectiveness of governmental performance has always been a concern of the American people, but systematic approaches to determining the effectiveness of programs have seldom been pursued, particularly on behalf of those in our society who have been discriminated against. The importance of developing the capacity to monitor critical programs for minorities, the poor and women was recognized in development of SRC's Program for the 70's, a copy of which is attached, and a monitoring program is part of SRC's plans for the future. Based on the successful experience of several national monitoring programs, the plans are to utilize in the monitoring process a number of young Southerners with background in law, economics and other professional skills who want to learn about the problems of our society through experience before moving ahead to practice their professions. Monitoring programs have a high priority in the objectives being submitted to the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council for 1973.

More recently, however, new national policies have heightened our concern and helped to shift our sense of priorities. Whereas it once appeared that the primary task was to monitor existing programs, whether federally, state or locally sponsored, and to look at the measures for achieving coordination and equity that were built into the intergovnmental system as of the fall of 1972 (including the provisions of Circular A-95), it now appears that major shifts in the roles and responsibilities of federal, state and local governments present this country with critical issues that will be of major importance to those people in our society who lack resources and political power. In addition, these major shifts in roles and responsibilities could create structural problems in government and may well open up the potential for more sound and responsive local and state government.

The first of these policies was the passage of the general revenue sharing legislation by the Congress in the fall of 1972, legislation which gives unrestricted funds from national revenues to state governments and somewhat more restricted funds to cities and counties.

During the last month, however, there have been new developments. Although the details are not yet clear, both action with respect to the 1973 federal budget and advance information on the 1974 budget make clear the administration's intention to "shift significant funds, authority and controls of numerous programs from federal executive departments to governors, mayors, and other local governmental officials." As pointed out in the attached memorandum from the Center for Community Change, some programs are being terminated by budget action. Some funds, such as for subsidized low income housing, are being impounded. Financial resources for other programs, such as manpower development,are being cut back. Still others are intended to be included in one of the administration's several proposals for special revenue sharing, meaning that funds now appropriated through federal executive departments will be turned over to states to be spent for the same purposes. The actions which are already clear demonstrate that programs in manpower training and employment, in health and education, in housing and community development, in rural development, and in other social services administered through the offices of Economic Opportunity are all being affected.

However valid the proposition that some of the several hundred categorical programs may not be affected, the overall impact of the proposed actions not only cannot easily be calculated in advance but apparently will harm directly or indirectly those least able to secure help from other sources - minorities, the poor, and in many cases women. However valid the proposition that accountability for governmental problems may be more direct and logical where programs are administered by states or local government, and however valid the proposition that categorical programs have multiplied to the extent that planning, coordination and delivery of services were at best inefficient, still the impact in the South is particularly critical for a number of reasons:

1. Historically the black and poor Southerner has suffered most from legal and institutional discrimination.
2. Historically the Southern states have been least able to provide necessary governmental programs because of an inadequate tax base and tax revenues, as well as "a long-standing" unwillingness to raise funds for governmental services.
3. It has been in the South that the federal government has most directly made its presence felt during the last decade in times of (a) programs designed for the benefit for black and poor Southerners, (b) programs financed directly from federal funds, and (c) a high proportion of programs controlled by black and poor Southerners who historically have had no access to governmental decision-making in administration.

4. The greatest proportion of rural poverty is found in the South where rural local government is most likely to be solidly in the hands of long entrenched white leaders, discriminatory, barren of technical skills, and less effective in administration.
5. To a lesser extent this judgment with respect to prejudice and institutional racism, inadequate administrative capacity, and lack of effectiveness in delivery of services is true of the state governments throughout the South.
6. There is no evidence that the guidelines for requiring compliance for civil rights laws and equitable distribution of services under the general revenue sharing legislation will insure an effective federal presence in the delivery of services by state and local governments. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has stated that: "Too many vital issues are not dealt with in the very brief outline for enforcement spelled out in the Act and repeated almost verbatim and without clarification in the regulations. There is no indication of the standards of compliance and noncompliance that will be applied; no mechanism provided for handling complaints and regular compliance checks; no time limits set for resolving noncompliance situations; and no outline of the make-up and responsibilities of the federal offices that will be sharing some of these compliance functions. In addition, the other sections of the Act and regulations dealing with

planning and reporting do not explain how nondiscrimination concerns will be reflected as part of these mechanisms.

In taking these legislative and administrative steps the national administration has apparently not consulted representatives of poor and black Southerners or representatives of other groups discriminated against, such as women; and the steps that are being taken to strengthen state and local government seem not to have taken into account the past history of lack of responsiveness to social problems by those governments. If this nation is to evaluate what we have been doing to meet the needs of minority groups and the poor, and if we are to determine how the proposed changes in governmental responsibility will affect minority groups and the poor, and if we genuinely want to determine how the political system can build in sensitivity to and responsibility for the needs of minority groups and the poor for the future, then it is highly important that several things be done that have not been suggested by the national administration.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR THE MONITORING PROJECT ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The Southern Regional Council, in proposing a monitoring project within the region, recognizes certain goals and objectives and intends its responsibility to be:

1. To assist community groups and organizations throughout the region to become familiar with the guidelines for general revenue-sharing (and special revenue sharing legislation as it may be adopted by Congress), in order

to help those organizations apply directly to state and local governments to meet existing unmet needs, and to seek the response of state and local governments for the financing of programs heretofore met by federally sponsored programs.

2. To assist these community groups to monitor for themselves: (a) civil rights violations under revenue sharing legislation, (b) the response of state and local governments to requests for assistance for social services, educational and health programs, (c) the net impact on community areas of the governmental changes taking place in 1973. Particular attention will be paid to helping these groups establish and document long standing discrimination in any civil services against black Southerners and poor Southerners, under the principles in Hawkins v Shaw.

3. To document for state governments in the South and for a cross section of local governments in each state:
    (a) the net impact of changes and responsibility for governmentally sponsored programs on poor Southerners, black Southerners, and women. The net impact would be determined by consideration of the following:
        (1) Identification of categorical programs curtailed or abandoned by the federal government, with specific attention to the specific services affected or lost, the cost of those services, and shifts in program control.

(2) Identification of services formerly supported under categorical programs which have been met by state and local governments from either local revenues or revenue sharing funds.

(3) Needs for services which were formerly met from categorical programs, which were requested of state and local governments, and for which there were no responses.

(4) An analysis of the impact of the transfer of programs (such as OEO-sponsored programs) from community control to local or state government control. A similar analysis of the impact of transfer would need to be made of programs shifted from federal sponsorship to local or state administration.

(5) The extent to which the needs of poor and black Southerners are being recognized under Circular A-95 procedures.

(6) Description and evaluation of the use of general revenue sharing resources by both state and local governments.

(b) the degree to which significant needs of poor and black Southerners are being met under the new intergovernmental arrangements as compared with the previous arrangements.

(c) the degree to which black and poor Southerners are attaining access to elected political and administrative positions in state and local government, and thus participating in the decisions on the use of revenue sharing for local needs.

4. To maintain continuing relationships with national agencies monitoring changes in intergovernmental responsibility, both to secure accurate information from Washington on what is happening to the administration of federal programs and to relate to national monitoring agencies the precise experience in the South.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR MONITORING CURRENT PROGRAMS

The monitoring of governmental responsibility and the process of instituting administrative changes could have a long term impact - on the whole structure of American government. But while process is being monitored, it will continue to be important to monitor performance by federal, state and local agencies of continuing services that affect the education, housing, health and general welfare of Southerners. For this reason the initial goals and objectives stated on Page 1 will continue to be important to the Council as it helps identify how well this region is meeting the needs of all of its people, particularly members of minority groups, the poor and women. There will be, therefore, if funds are available, a continuing and consistent effort to evaluate the performance of governmental agencies carrying out critical functions in education, child care and development, welfare, health and medical care, manpower training, mental health, housing, agriculture, and other economic development activities. The Council's plans to expand its present efforts in monitoring performance constitute a separate proposal, which is attached, and will require different, though coordinated, procedures for implementation.

PROCEDURE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF MONITORING OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

The net effects of the proposed transfers of revenue sources and governmental responsibility from federal to state and local governments cannot be determined in anything less than three years. There will be three different procedures which are important.

Technical Assistance

The program of technical assistance in the organizations will be of primary importance during the next twelve months. The project will require one staff member familiar with the South and with community organizations in the South, secretarial assistance, and a budget to cover the following:

1. Preparation of a publication explaining legislation on general revenue sharing, the purposes for which general revenue sharing income can be used, and the procedures that community organizations will have to follow to get access to state and local governments.
2. Conduct of seminars and training sessions for leaders in each of the Southern states to help explain the decentralization process and ways of getting access to revenue sharing.
3. Contract with one or more state-wide organizations in each of the states to enable such organizations to provide technical assistance and out-reach of information within that state. Organizations such as State Councils on Human Relations, or the Delta Ministry in Mississippi would be the kind of organizations with which services would be contracted.

After the first year there should be continuing information on the status of decentralization of particular programs as well as information on the response of state and local governments to the needs of poor and black Southerners, but specific funds for technical assistance would probably no longer be necessary. This technical assistance program, however, is of major importance; for if there is not clear evidence that a major effort has been made by community organizations and other agencies which have been the recipients of federal categorical grants that have been terminated, the impact of any efforts to strengthen provisions for services to community organizations will be materially lessened.

Monitoring and Documentation

This process will be of critical importance, particularly when we remember that the major presence of federal programs in the South took place because of the lack of response to human resource needs by state and local governments in the South. Advance indications are that Southern governmental agencies are not considering operating services as major uses for revenue sharing income, although what will happen as more and more programs are terminated and as special categorical revenue sharing legislation is introduced is yet to be seen. In any event, a careful monitoring, documentation and evaluation will be of continuing value to community organizations and leaders of poor and black Southerners as the effort to increase the responsiveness of state and local government continues.

Monitoring and documentation for the region will be conducted by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with the Southern Center for the Study of Public Policy at Clark College and with the Center for Community Change in Washington. An interchange of SRC's monitoring and technical assistance staff with the Clark College Center's faculty and graduate research students is planned. SRC's staff will contribute information and field experiences to the Clark Center's research and to the Center for Community Change. The Clark Center will provide basic information and policy research to SRC, the community and state organizations involved, and through SRC to CCC, while CCC becomes the base for information from Washington. Liaison will also be established with other national monitoring agencies such as the Center for Law and Policy, the Potomac Institute, the Washington Research Project, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

The steps to be taken will include the following:

1. Assignment of a staff member to work out of the Center for Community Change in Washington to develop full information and a continuing flow of information to the Council offices on programs curtailed, suspended, impounded, or folded into special revenue sharing programs. As time goes on the role of this staff member will shift to that of serving as the conduit of information from the Council to national agencies on what is happening in the South.

2. Analysis of the full range of programs being curtailed, suspended or phased out to determine which should be monitored closely in the process of this project.
3. Choice of governmental units to be monitored closely, to include at the least ten Southern states (not including Texas), and from ten to fifteen cities and counties in each of those 10 states, so chosen as to provide a cross section with respect to urban-rural, racial composition, geography and economic development.
4. Establishment of a staff in Atlanta to direct the monitoring project. The staff would consist of a project director, at least five assistant directors (1 staff member for each two states), one or more research assistants, and a varying number of interns and young college graduates. (The research assistant category may also be met by interns and young college graduates.) Each state team would do the background research on state and local expenditure levels in two states, identify federal programs which have been administered in each state and the status as a result of decentralization, and establish base lines from which to evaluate the impact of general revenue sharing. Field work in each state capital would be essential. Each team would be supplied with from two to four young college graduates to make field visits in person to each of the cities and counties undergoing intensive monitoring, in order to identify the net impact of decentralization on those cities and counties. It is possible that field work by interns

4. (a) Continue School Desegregation Project with commitment of one half man year each of professional staff and research assistant, supplemented by efforts of two full-time Kennedy Fellows whose salaries are not reflected in this budget. (1973 Objective (a) of Strategy 4, page15 of 1973 Program Statement).
   (b) Continue Black Women's Employment Project for an additional pilot year (two professionals and two secretaries; total costs reimbursed by Center for Study of Human Resources at University of Texas and not reflected in this budget). (1973 objective (a), Strategy 4, page 15 of 1973 Program Statement).

The budget also provides for (a) four meetings of consultations of each task force steering committee, (b) four to five summer interns, and (c) an allocation of $10,000 for consultants in support of task force or research projects.

could be concentrated in the summer months, although at least one intern to assist each assistant director full time is needed.

5. Monitoring of the decision-making processes in state government and in the selected local governments to determine the responsiveness of those governmental agencies to requests from community organizations.
6. The publication of a document giving instructions to community organizations on how to monitor what is happening in their own communities and how to make reports to the project. A training seminar would be held in each state to train community leaders in monitoring. (Use would be made in particular not only of the chosen leaders of community organizations but of persons with special skills such as the Ford Foundation's Leadership Development Program Fellows and the Southern Education Foundation Fellows, past and present.)
7. The publication, at the end of each year, of annual reports on the results of decentralization for each state in the region and for the city and county governments in those states.
8. Intensive monitoring of the results of federal decisions and the responsiveness of state and local governments, covering 1973, 1974, and 1975. By the beginning of 1975 the project would enter into a major assessment of the net impact of governmental decentralization, an evaluation of the uses of general and special revenue sharing

funds, with particular emphasis on the extent to which state and local governments have picked up former federal responsibilities; an assessment of the access of black and poor Southerners and women to the decision-making processes of state and local government; and finally recommendations for changes in the responsibility for specific federal, state, and local governmental functions and for changes in the funding of those functions to meet specific needs in the South. A part of this major assessment would be an attempt to measure the ways in which state and local governments with help from the federal government have met specific needs in education, housing, health, welfare and other social services, and economic opportunity over the period from 1968 to 1975. This major assessment of the impact of governmental decentralization would be available by the end of 1975 in order to provide essential information for changes in national, state and local policy. Despite serious inadequacies and deficiencies in the new legislation and in administrative planning, the concepts implicit in revenue sharing and their implementation could presage more responsive government at all levels. The South must have evaluated the process and examined the results in order to determine viable alternatives and to conserve what is beneficial in the present and developing intergovernmental relationships and functions.

Timing

Since the process of decentralization has already started, the project should be initiated just as quickly as possible. Conversations have already gone forward in trying to identify a project director. The director should be chosen within the next two months so that staffing can begin, and particularly so that interns and young college students can be available to help the staff this summer. Immediate steps and the first half-year's program should include:

1. Choice of a project director
2. Choice of assistant directors
3. Recruitment of interns and young college graduates
4. Preparation of publications for technical assistance
5. Training and outreach in the states
6. Specific monitoring in state and local governments.

52 Fairlie St., N. W.~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Mr. Hugh Fordyce
CEEB
17 Executive Park Drive
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

Dear Mr. Fordyce:

Enclosed is a copy of the U. S. News & World Report article that I quoted in South Today.

You will see that it was my mistake. I circled Hawaii's per capita income instead of Georgia's. That should have been caught in our proof-reading, but it wasn't.

I'll try to work in a retraction the next time I do Reports, which will be in February.

Thank you for calling this to my attention.

Sincerely,

Kitty Terjen
Managing Editor

KT/rh

Enclosure

Mrs. Velma M. Huie
Librarian
Luther L. Gobbel Library
Lambuth College
Jackson, Tennessee 38301

Dear Mrs. Huie:

We have added Mrs. Clark's name to our mailing list to receive SOUTH TODAY. Thank you for suggesting it.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Ruth Howard
Secretary to the Editor

rph

Sent with letter to Haggy Young

D R A F T

TO: CWA Staff Members in the South
FROM: Director of Education (or SRC Labor Program)

For the past year you have been receiving the publications of the Southern Regional Council dealing with a broad range of issues relating to poverty and racial relations. We recognize that it is most unlikely that you would have read all of the publications or all of the material in many of them. However, we would like to know whether you felt that these publications were helpful and whether you have been interested to know that such material is available even if all of it was not useful. Would you take time to answer the following questions:

____YES____NO The SRC materials in general were interesting.

____YES____NO They gave me useful material to assist my understanding of the changing South.

____YES____NO The materials sometimes proved helpful in my job, such as providing ideas and information in talking with members.

About what percentage of the materials were personally of interest to you 100____ 75____ 50____ 25____ 10____ 0____

Do you recall that you especially like certain publications. For example, pamphlets such as John Willie Reed or The Tax Structure of the Southern States or the quarterly publication, New South, or the monthly paper (tabloid size) South Today. Would you list any others?____________________________________

____

Do you recall any special articles that you thought were helpful in some way?____________________________________

____

____

_______________On balance, I would like to continue to receive the Southern Regional Council materials even though I do not make use of all of them.

_______________I would rather not receive these materials.

I have some other things I would like to say about these materials (good, bad, no holds bared and no grudges held))

MEMO TO: John Lewis

FROM: Marvin Wall

As I mentioned, it was fortunate that we were represented at the Washington meeting to discuss the proposed conference on registration and election laws. The present plan, as outlined by Bob Maurer, is to seek foundation funding for such a conference to be held in early 1971. The idea would be to make registration and voting laws less restrictive and more open. I urged that the conference could work towards some uniform registration and election law for adoption by all fifty states, but I was reminded that this might put the foundations in some tax-exemption problems. So an alternative would be to come up with a study of restrictive features in registration and election laws across the country---that is to say bad features in these laws which would be remedied by a proposed uniform election and registration law.

The thinking of the group was to invite some several hundred people from all over the country, and representing all shades of political views, to the conference.

An interesting group of people had been invited to the round-table discussion in Washington. It was noteworthy that the most conservative groups represented---for example, the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce---were least willing to commit their organizations to support of such a conference, although representatives of these groups voiced what seemed to be their own approval. The League of Women Voters, at whose offices the Washington discussion took place, has promised to send us minutes of the discussion and keep us posed on further developments.

It was useful to me to be able to meet, face-to-face, Joy Fleisher and Willie Campbell, and others at the League of Women Voters with whom I have corresponded frequently during the last several years. On Tuesday and Wednesday afternoons, I was able to go to Capitol Hill and sit in the Senate Gallery during part of the debate on extension of the Voting Rights Act. Letters from Maurer and Mrs. Campbell are attached.

MEMO TO: Janet Shortt

FROM: Marvin Wall

On my recent visit to the League of Women Voters office in Washington, I was introduced to People Power, the Inter-City Citizenship Education Project newsletter of the League of Women Voters Education Fund. Unless somebody in VEP already is getting it, it would be a good idea for us to have a subscription. The cost is $5.00 per 12 issues and the address is League of Women Voters, Education Fund, 1730 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

Mr. Hayes Mizell
South Carolina Community
  Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
Suite 704 - Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Hayes:

Wow'. Many thanks for all those names. It'll probably take us a while to get them onto plates, but eventually we'll succeed.

Hope all is well with you,

Kitty Griffith

KG/rh

MEMORANUM

TO: PAUL ANTHONY

FROM: SUSAN MORGAN

RE: THE EXISTENCE OF A COMMITTEE ON BLACK EMPOLYEES

In all the discussion about the Committee of Black Employees of the Southern Regional Council, blacks have talked and whites have listened. Since spokesmen for the black staff have asked the white staff to honestly express themselves, I will.

I want to address myself to the existence of a black committee and its relationship to the Council. At the June 14th meeting of the Executive Committee, Weldon Rougeau, as a spokesman for the black committee, read several statements by black employees. These statements had little or nothing to do with SRC, its purpose and relevance, or explanation of the black committee. Instead these statements were either personal attacks on white staff members or complaints about salary and status. (As one who came under fire, I refuse to use my time and energy to answer the false charges made against me or to reduce myself to the level of those who attacked me by criticizing their office behavior). If these statements illustrate how the black committee chose to represent itself to the Executive Committee, I must assume that the motives of the committee are as individually selfish as those in its representative statements. When a member of the Executive Committee got down to the real issue, which was supposed to be the existence of a black committee, and asked spokesman Rougeau just what this committee would do, the spokesman just floundered. And when spokesman Rougeau magnanimously withdrew the request for official recognition of the committee with an eloquent speech, because he didn't want "to destroy SRC," it had a hollow sound. Personally I think the request for recognition was withdrawn because the spokesmen knew how poorly their case had been presented (what case there was) and that they had little chance of being accepted by the Executive Committee.

I think the statements read at the meeting were meant to prove that the white staff of the Southern Regional Council have been guilty of continued deliberate racist tactics. Ridiculous! Every statement read dealt with employee-employer grievances - not racial discrimination. Where unjust situations exist, they exist because of poor administration - not racial discrimination. For every complaint by a black staff member, an identical or equivalent complaint could be lodged by a white staff member. I said in a staff meeting that I thought black people were suspicious of whites and that they had every right to be. For hundreds of years there

HAS been a plot to discriminate against black people! But this is not the case at SRC and for black employees to hide behind this convenient claim when their grievances are NOT racial is hypocritical. SRC is an organization dedicated to social reform and I cannot believe that any black staff member who really thinks the Council administration is racist could in good conscience accept a paycheck every two weeks.

The only reasonable justification that I have heard for the existence of a black committee is that black people have special problems and special needs. I have been told again and again that I as a white can never know what racial discrimination really feels like; that I can never know what a black man trapped in the ghetto really feels. This is true. And for the same reasons no black man can ever know just what a white experiences when he works for what he feels is just and right and then turns to face a hostile white community. There is one thing worse than a "nigger" and that's a "nigger lover." Black people should be proud of their blackness. They should never forget their heritage but in the same vein they should not make skin color the overiding criteria. We are above all PEOPLE. To form a committee just for blacks within a biracial group such as ours is to participate in the very thing we oppose. To hide behind the old justification of special needs just doesn't hold water.

Everyone keeps saying how marvelous it is that the black committee has caused us to examine ourselves. Of course most of the people saying this are white and whites are seemingly the only ones expected to indulge in self-examination. It seems to me that there are a number of black people who need to look at themselves and their motives more closely. This element of the black committee reminds me of that self righteous hypocrisy so common to southern demagogues. The fact that black staff question white staff simply because they are white is racist.

I will not patronize the black staff at SRC by stifling my opposition to their committee or couching my dissent in soothing, eloquent words. Just as black staff members expect whites to accept their criticism and personal attacks without malice and as they have so often told us, "for the good of SRC," so I expect black staff to accept my opposition to any committee based on race in the same spirit.

cc: Mr. John Wheeler
    Dr. Raymond Wheeler

DRAFT

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

INTRODUCTION

The Community Organization Project of the Southern Regional Council is simply to know who is doing what. Thus, we hope to be in the position to consult knowlegeably with public agencies such as the Economic Development Administration who have an interest in these programs.

A major effort is to relate to and assist the progress of existing or emerging programs such as those conducted by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the Southern Development Program and a large number of local groups and individuals in the region. We have provided, on request, information on cooperatives, credit unions, and consumers education. A number of how-to-do-it publications such as the *Consumer Quick Credit Guide* (U. S. Government Printing Office) and Public Affairs pamphlet, *People Help Themselves*, have been circulated.

The Community Organization Project provided several groups with small grants, funds for the drafting of proposals, and the transportation cost of representatives of local groups to confer with federal officials in Washington.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The purpose of the Community Organization Project (COP) of the Southern Regional Council is to function as an informational and service resources for indigenous group, existing or developing cooperatives. This project (COP) will make small grants (seed money) to groups or organizations that come within COP guidelines. The objectives of the Community Organization Project are:

1. COP will attempt to offer technical assistance to existing or developing cooperatives to become more competitive in the market world.
2. To assist community groups or organizations and cooperatives in the drafting and writing of proposals for securing resources from private organizations or public agencies.
3. To assist community groups or organizationsand cooperatives in recruiting consultants or experts for training session or as advisors for improvements of the cooperatives, groups or organizations.

For additional information contact:
Mr. John Lewis, Director
Community Organization Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

GUIDELINES FOR THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

Programs are approved when the group using funds stipulates that the funds granted will be used to improve the living and economical conditions of the community. A group or organization, existing or developing cooperative should prepare and submit a grant proposal to the Community Organization Project. This proposal should include the following:

1. A General Area Background - city, state, county. It should include population total, Black and white ratio. Past activities of the group. In the case of cooperatives: the employment rate, job opportunities, unemployment, major industries, Black owned business and approximate average income. Existing programs (government or private) or community groups or other cooperatives.

2. Description of Program -- kind of program and purpose of program. Explain how this program differs from other programs existing in the community and how this program relates to other programs. How long will the program last and how many persons will the program involve or employ. How does this program relate to the problems of the general community. A structural diagram of the organization (community organization only).

3. Personnel Duties and Responsibilities
   Explain the functions of each position and how they relate to the organization.

4. Budget Outline
   Explain in outline form how money will be spent.

SAMPLE (Outline)

I. INTRODUCTION

II. AREA BACKGROUND

III. DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM
   - A. Purpose
   - B. Objectives
   - C. Structure of organization

IV. PERSONNEL

V. BUDGET OUTLINE

(The sample on the following page will vary from group to group, program to program, community to community. Cooperatives will usually have managers instead of directors, employees instead organizers. The forms should be similar in structure.)

BUDGET (Sample)

PERSONNEL

1 Director..............................$
(Monthly)
2 Secretaries...........................
3 Community organizers..................
1 Bookkeeper............................
Fringe benefits.........................
Sub-total...............$

OFFICE EQUIPMENT

1 Typewriter............................$
1 Mimeograph............................
Desk, chairs, file cabinet..............
Supplies (paper, etc.)..................

OPERATING EXPENSE

Rent....................................$
Light...................................
Water...................................
Fuel....................................

TRAVELING ALLOWANCES...........................$

CONSULTANT.....................................$

Grand Total.........$

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Southern Regional Council
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PROGRESS REPORT

(Self-help group or organization)

All groups or organizations receiving a grant from the Community Organization Project should fill out progress reports according to the length of the grant and program. (6 weeks, 3 reports), (3 months, 4 reports), (6 months, 7 reports). These reports are for our files and will be helpful for us in making recommendations for your program to organizations, foundations, or agencies in case your organization decides to request additional funds.

PROGRESS REPORT

Project Name:____

Date:________________ City:_____________ State_____________

1. How many persons are presently involved in this program__________

2. How many persons have dropped out of this program________________

3. What issue(s) are you presently working on______________________

4. Did you have total participation________________________________

5. If not, explain____
____
____

6. What problems have you encountered______________________________
____
____

7. Do you need assistance from the Community Organization Project or from other sources, if so, what kind__________________________

8. How well does your program or organization work with other groups, good________ fair_________ bad____________

9. How well does your program or organization work with other agencies, good__________ fair__________ bad_________

10. How well does your program relate to the need of the group, good__________ fair__________ bad____________

11. How does your program or organization relate to the needs and demands of the total community, good________ fair_____ bad_______

12. How well informed is the community on your activities, often_______ regular________ irregular________ uncertain_________

13. Do you have community meetings?
Once a month_____twice a month_________or more______ none________

14. What changes has your program brought about in the community?
____
____
____

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT
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PROGRESS REPORT

(Cooperatives)

All cooperatives, developing or existing, receiving a grant from the Community Organization Project should fill out a progress report according to the length of the grant or program. The following schedule respectively, (6 weeks, 3 reports), (3 months, 4 reports),(6 months, 7 reports). These reports are for our files and will be helpful for us in making recommendations for your program to organizations, foundations, or agencies in case your organization decides to request additional funds.

PROGRESS REPORT

Project Name: ____

Date: ________________ City ______________ State ________________

1. How do you support your cooperative, through shares __________ individual contributions ________ bank loans ________ stock ________

2. I so, how much did you receive, shares$ ________ individual contributions $ ________ bank loans $ ________ stock $ ________

3. How many employees do you have ______________________________

4. How many resigned __________ or terminated ________________

5. Is your production up ________ or down ______________________

6. Are your sales up ____________ or down ______________________

7. What was your profit $ ____

8. What is your overhead $ ______________________________________

9. Has your program improved the conditions in the community? ______

____

____

If so, how? ____

____

____

If not, why? ____

____

____

Cannot determine ____

____

10. What do you consider to be your greatest problem (s) __________

____

____

SIGNED ____
(Manager or chairman of the Board)

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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522-8764

FINANCIAL REPORT

PROJECT NAME____

DATE____

CITY____________________ STATE ____________________

PERSONNEL.............................	$________________
OPERATIONAL...........................	$________________
OTHER EXPENSES .... (please list)	$________________
______________	$________________
______________	$________________
______________	$________________
______________	$________________
______________	$________________
TOTAL	$________________

SIGNED____
(Manager or Chairman of the Board)

SUGGESTED FOUNDATIONS

1. The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028
(Leslie W. Dunbar or his assistant, George Loft)

2. New World Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028
(Mr. Vernon A. Eagle, Executive Director)

3. New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York, New York 10017
(Mr. Charles Jones, Executive Director)

4. Joint Foundation Support
575 Madison Avenue, 10th Floor
New York, New York 10022
(Mrs. Elizabeth W. Troubh, Executive Director)

5. Aaron E. Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
(Mrs. Deborah M. Cole, Executive Director)

6. Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
(Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy, Executive Director)

Interreligious foundation for Community organization

If-Co
211 East 43rd Street
N.Y. N.Y. 10017 - ~~[illegible]~~ -
area code 212
Phone 986-5727
Lucius Walker, Jr. Director

MEMO

TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM: Bob Anderson and Glenda Bartley

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the next generation.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act.

Since 1965 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the eleven southern states. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none has been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles how can we explain that only about 60% of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation -- as the tragic events at Orangeburg, South Carolina earlier this year illustrated, have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues -- as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Alabama, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the Brown decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14% of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama 5.4%; Mississippi, 3.9; South Carolina,6.4; Louisiana,6.7; and Georgia, 9.9.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread underemployment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for low pay. Minimum wage laws must be enforced.

As part of a short term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance, itself, needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear and legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettoes should have taught us that the just andhhuman needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.

Reading File

Statement by Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program

A major problem confronting us is how to reach whites more effectively. It is of particular importance that we reach people in the middle and lower-middle income groups. They must be reached winningly. We should continue to build a much greater understanding of the practical necessity for and desirability of an integrated, democratic society. Our commitment to this goal and our hope that such a society can be founded in this nation must not be erased by the necessity for our realistic criticism of existing social practices and our dissatisfaction with the quality and degree of social progress. Although it has not been a good year to speak of such hopes, we must be ready to face yet another testing of our moral and pragmatic selves.

The following activities will be included among the Labor Program's interests this year. 1) Educational services designed to provide facts and interpretation, stimulate thought, offer a basis for individual and group redefinition of interest, and grounds for accepting the positive utility of a just, free, and secure social order. 2) The encouragement of constructive manpower policies and the upgrading of our ability to evaluate efforts in this area. There will be a special emphasis on cooperating with moves to end discrimination in all aspects of employment. 3) The development of materials and programs to underscore the importance of providing social and economic security for all in a rapidly changing society.

Most of what the Labor Program does is educational in nature. Quite clearly there is also the continuing need to develop black political and ecomomic leverage. Such leverage is not only necessary in securing change in practical situations that range from the making of major public policy to matters of individual welfare, it is also an important tool in the education of whites. White understanding and black-white collaboration can increase the effectiveness of Negro political and economic demands. Work towards the ending of employment discrimination and the acceptance of rational manpower policies directly assists the attainment of economic leverage. The encouragement of white understanding of their long run political self-interest can be an aide in the realization of Negro political gains.

The region and nation are not beset with a single illness, but several. How we go about curing them, as always, has much to do with whether the cure is successful and permanent. The Council's efforts need to be made in this understanding. We are not operating simply to achieve equality and soon. We have the task of aiding nation and region to find justice and to maintain those basic freedoms which can insure continuing justice in times of change.

EFV/km

WIRE TO:

William J. Farmer
c/o Thomas R. Finnin
1614 North Merrimack Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

MESSAGE:

The staff of the Voter Education Project wishes to extend its sympathy upon the death of your mother.

Our thoughts are with you.

SIGNED:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

STATEMENT OF VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Director, Voter Education Project of the
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The attempted assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy is another tragic blow that falls especially hard on Negroes, since Senator Kennedy has been particularly associated with civil rights causes during his political career and thus has had strong support from Negro voters. Time and again Negroes have seen those who championed their causes struck down. Little wonder that many Negroes have grown cynical about the democratic process. We can only pray for the day that violence and brutality will no longer be a part of our politics and our national life.

Dear ....:

Enclosed you will find the edited copy of your interview with me. Let me apologize for taking so long to get this back to you and for asking you to make your corrections as quickly as you can.

You will notice some corrections I have made. I hope your corrections can be made in the same ~~[illegible]~~ manner. When you have returned this interview to me, your ~~corrections will be added, a correct copy will be made, and we will begin~~ corrections will be added. ~~and~~ Then a corrected copy will be made to ~~make~~ be sure there are no spelling mistakes or other ~~mistakes~~ errors.

I hope you can return this interview to me within ten days. I have included a stamped, addressed envelope for that purpose. If you have not returned it within ten days, ~~may~~ I will assume that I can proceed with it as it is.

¶ Let me thank you again for participating in this project.

Sincerely,

Julian Bond

Research Associate

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Knox & Front Desk

FROM: Marvin Wall

There will be an increasing number of requests this year for registration figures and other election data. Please refer all routine requests for such information to Janet Wells. If Janet needs help, she'll then pass the request along to me. Many thanks.

DRAFT

Dear ____________________:

This is to ask you to participate in a meeting of about twenty-five persons to consider formation of a regional council on intergroup relations and, if it seems desirable and feasible, to initiate procedures to bring it into being.

The meeting is to be held at the School of Law of the University of Texas, 2500 Red River, Austin, on Sunday and Monday, May 26-27. We are asking participants to convene for an informal session at 7:30 on the evening of the 26th. Our working session will conclude about 4:00 P.M. on the 27th.

For more than a year I have felt with an increasing sense of urgency the need for such an agency. I have consulted the staff of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, and that agency is willing to assist the formation of a sister-agency in the Southwestern region. They offer consultant services, information about their own program and operation, assistance in fund raising, and payment of expenses incurred in preliminary meetings.

Mr. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities for the Southern Reginnal Council, will send you a more detailed working paper within the next few days. Very briefly, what we are proposing is a staffed agency with the principle ethnic groups of the Southwest -- Mexican-Americans, Negroes, Anglos, and American Indians -- represented on its policy board and, as soon as possible, on its staff. With the gathering and publications of accurate information about conditions and issues of intergroup relations as its fundamental program, the agency would also serve as a locus of communication among leaders of the several minorities. It could promote attention to human relations in universities, professional schools, labor unions, industry, and other institutions. It could offer technical assistance and leadership training to local human relations groups and agencies and to minority-group community organizations. In and through all such programs it would seek to interpret the just demands and aspirations of minority groups to the public in an effort to secure cooperative and creative response from the Anglo majority.

Your participation in this first meeting would not imply a long-term commitment of any kind, although we hope, of course, that the result will be something of importance which you would want to support at least informally.

Your expenses to this meeting will be paid by the Southern Regional Council. Please return the self-addressed postal card indicating whether or not you plan to attend and if you desire a room reservation at the Villa Capri Motel for May 26.

MINUTES

The purpose of the meeting was to consider the course for the Voter Education Project - after 1968. It was made clear early in the meeting that the course for the remainer of 1968 is clear. The Director of the VEP stated that the emphasis will continue to be voter registration. Considerable deliberation and discussion were given to a second suggestion for 1968.. It was pointed out that previous meetings because of time have only been "surface meetings" and therefore a meeting of the 250 Negro Elected Officials for three days early in September was discussed. It was suggested that in order to eliminate the theoretical aspect of politics, the employment of the soci-drama as a procedure be employed during the workshop sessions by the participants. The American Motor Hotel was suggested as a possible meeting cite. The socio-drama would supplement the subtantive program, not to replace it.

The Voter Education Project After 1968

The first consideration after 1968 was, could the name be changed after the present program expires? It was concluded and agreed that program emphasis could be changed without changing the name. It is also that the name VEP is very well known in the region, and changing the name would confuse many.

A second suggestion was that some criterion be established for future voter registration grants. The following was suggested:

(1) Larger cities would be funded on a matching basis.

(2) Voter Registration Grants will be made in areas, regardless of size, if theirs is a re-registration program, i.e., Durham N. C. and the state of S. C.

(3) Emphasis will be on counties where the Negro potential is greatest, percentage wise, and in larger cities with less than 70%, again on a matching basis.

(4) The VEP will only be conduit for funds.

The future of existing state organizations and the possibility of future programs were considered. State VEPs must be substained. However, these organizations must be financed for three more years. It is hoped that these organizations will start raising some of its budget. Virginia, it is felt, is the next state where a state organization should be given. Regional, and intra-state politics, along with geography in some few areas wre why Alabama, Tennessee, Florida and Mississippi are not ready for state organizations.

The VEP will continue to provide technical assistance to the elected officials in the region. This will take the form of working more closely with the Negro colleges. Three colleges have agreed to provide a professor to whom elected officials can consult with on problem areas. Those colleges agreeing are Clark in Atlanta, Talladega in Alabama, and Tougoloo in Mississippi. Tentatively, Southern in Louisiana, but they may have some problems, Southern is a state school.

The last consideration was given to citizenship education - What is it? It was agreed that films are too expensive, and that the massive classroom approach is not effective. However, it was felt that to be effective citizenship education must be massive in scope. The pros and cons of the comic book approach was considered and discussed.

The following persons contributed to the deliberations:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Director, Voter Education Project
Pat Watters, Director of Information
Jim Wood, Executive Assistant
Weldon Rougeau, Field Director - VEP
Marvin Wall, Director of Research - VEP
Julian Bond, Research Assistant - VEP

These deliberations were recorded and reported by Thad Olive, Administrative Assistant - VEP.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

Reading file

James V. Bennett
5840 Marbury Road
Bethesda, Maryland

Dear Mr. Bennett:

Enclosed are the two reports that we talked about on the phone. I have told the Arkansas group that you are willing to come to them. It should develop at an accelerated rate and you will have a definite plan from me or a representative of the group right away.

Should the program be developed as we plan, it will take place on the 26 of April, unless it is necessary for it to be deferred until the week of the 29th.

Enclosed is a set of expense vouchers for you to use and mail to me should it develop that the citizens group is unable to pay your expenses and an honorariam. They will make reservations for you at a Little Rock motel, and advise you. I will telephone you as soon as I receive concrete information from the group.

Sincerely yours,

John

JOHN O. BOONE
Director, Project on the
Administration of Justice

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Pat Watters

TO: Mailroom

Please give Bill Gignilliat 50 copies of each of the following:

BLACK YOUTH IN A SOUTHERN METROPOLIS
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE: TO WHAT END?
HOW TO CONDUCT A REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN
KNOW YOUR RIGHTS
MR. MAYOR--SLUM GHETTOS IN YOUR TOWN
EFFECTS OF FEDERAL EXAMINERS AND ORGANIZED REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ON NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION
WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

Also, please let him have as many copies of SOUTHERN JUSTICE as you can spare.

PA &
Reading File

NEW FORCES OF URBAN POLITICAL POWER

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director, Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Delivered to:

The Foundations Group
Harmonie Club
New York City

One of the great delights of my youth, as I grew up in Atlanta in the country's first public housing project, was the joy of visiting my relatives in the country during the summer. The roadside shanty in West Georgia where my aunt lived was to me a resort, a villa---despite the outdoor toilet, the well water and the cracks in the wall, the ceiling and the floor. There was no place like Talbot County, Georgia in the summers of my youth. For in the fresh country air my cousins, my brother and I and the little white boys from the big white house played in the red dirt, kept an eye on the rabbit boxes, and ate heartily my aunt's hot self-rising biscuits and sorghum syrup.

I remember riding there in the "colored" section of the train and waiting to be met in the "colored" section of the tiny, rural railroad station. I remember drinking from the "colored" water tap and going to the back window of the cafe at the county seat on Saturday. These indignities never really bothered me because they were no different from the indignities in Atlanta. I knew that my cousin worked for three dollars a week and two quarts of buttermilk. I knew that in payment for working seven days a week at the big house, my aunt didn't have to pay rent on her shanty. And I thought that telling Mr. Mairo's wife at the store to put the candy and drinks I wanted "on the books" was a pretty good deal. I never knew until years later that my aunt could never completely clear the debt and was always owing at the end of the year and at cotton-picking time.

The one thing that I got really mad about, and never accepted, was my aunt's instruction in the summer of 1947 to call Sonny, one of the white boys at the big house, "Mr. Sonny, now, because Mr. Sonny is twelve years old." I was twelve that year too, but nobody called me "Mr. Vernon." But not even this could keep me from eagerly looking forward to my summers in the country.

But then, after a few summers came a letter written by my aunt to my mother. My aunt explained that she didn't want to stay on Mr. Mairo's place any longer. The family owed Mr. Mairo great sums of money and was getting deeper in debt with each year and each crop. Cotton and farming wasn't what it used to be. Mr. Mairo was looking for work in the county seat for himself, and food was short. My aunt and her family wanted to leave the country and come to the city, but they were afraid to ask Mr. Mairo for permission to leave. As it turned out, my brothers and I drove to Talbot County at midnight and sneaked them out under cover of darness to bring them to the city.

So they came to the city for a better life---for what had to be a better life. But they came uneducated, more than a little frightened, and ill-equipped to deal with the complexities of city life. This is not an uncommon story. It can be told by thousands and thousands of Negroes all over America. My aunt and her family and thousands like them brought something besides their battered luggage to the city. They brought an abiding distrust of white people and their way of manipulating the accounts, a bitterness about the white man's callous way of dealing with them, and deep scars left by the experience of being driven from the land. Such experiences are not soon forgotten. Their misfortunes and their bitterness are being passed along to generations who don't know what a rabbit box or an outhouse or a cotton crop or a country store look like.

So my aunt and the other black people of America moved to the city. They are still moving. Some are coming to the cities because of drive and ambition and the search for a better quality of life. Many are being pushed off the land by new farm techniques and, sometimes, by spiteful landowners. With their movement, black people are reshaping the nation's cities and the nation's politics.

But when my aunt and others have left the land and the small towns and the tightly run citadels of resistance and degradation and fled to the cities, what do they find? They find, to a certain extent, more freedom and, perhaps, fewer overt insults and less constant oppression. In some respects, however, life in the cities is as bad and in many respects it is worse.

Life in American cities is becoming increasingly crowded and chaotic. As an article in the Los Angeles Times recently put it, our cities are "unplanned and unmanageable, unsafe and unhealthy, overcrowded and underfinanced." But to the urban poor---and particularly the black poor---these are abstractions. In the daily press, we read about the problems of air pollution, congested freeways, and overloaded airports. We read about water pollution, inadequate tax base, and the need for rapid transit systems. As real and pressing as these problems are, the problems facing the poor are even more real and pressing---hunger, disease, filth, unemployment, inhumane police, crowded schools, and inadequate housing. For many of the poor, in short, the problem is survival.

Urban Negroes are increasingly finding that an effective weapon for meeting this problem is political participation and the vote. Sometimes the realization comes slowly, but I believe that it now is coming at a rapidly accelerating rate.

The Negro vote in the North emerged as an important political force in the presidential election of 1944. It was in this year that the new Negro votes in Northern cities made the presidency especially responsive to the interests and demands of Negroes.

In the South, meanwhile, Negroes were just getting the right to vote, and that plays an important part in our story.

Just after World War II, only a half-million Negroes were registered to vote in the 11 states of the Old Confederacy. Today the figure is more than three million, or

60 per cent of the Negro voting age population.

These new Negro votes in the South, like Negro votes in the Northern cities, are making themselves felt in national elections. A post-election study by the Southern Regional Council in 1964 showed that the Negro vote made the difference in the presidential outcome in five Southern states. As it turned out, Mr. Johnson was not exactly in desperate need of more electoral votes. Nevertheless, the demonstration of Negro voting strength in the South was there for all to see. In the five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater, Negro registration was either below or barely equal to the average for the region. In other words, as might have been expected, the senator carried those states in which Negro registration was the lowest.

The greatest gains in Negro registration in the last several years have come in those states covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Under the Act, Negro registration in Alabama has more than doubled. There also have been significant gains in Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. But nowhere has the leap forward been as dramatic as that in Mississippi. From a pitifully low Negro registration figure of eight per cent, Mississippi Negroes have jumped in just two and a half years to a registration figure of nearly 60 per cent.

I am sure I will surprise you when I tell you that Mississippi no longer is at the bottom of the ladder in Negro registration and that this dubious distinction now belongs to North Carolina with a Negro registration just over 50 per cent. There are more than 30 counties in North Carolina covered by the Voting Rights Act, but thus far the

Justice Department has not seen fit to send in federal examiners.

I mentioned presidential races, but I could cite dozens of elections---some in which the Southern Negro vote has been decisive in the last several years.

For the first time since Reconstruction, Negroes serve in legislatures in six of the 11 Southern states. There is a total now of 23 Negro legislators in the South.

But this barely scratches the surface in describing the extent to which Negroes are gaining political office and political strength in the South. There are nearly 250 elected Negro officials in the South today, and the number is growing steadily. The list of elected officials includes 22 Negroes in Mississippi of whose victories you probably read in November. And just the other day, an additional 35 were elected in Louisiana.

The first big push by Negro voters in the South came in urban areas. It was in the cities that Negroes could register to vote without being put off the land or getting a not-so-friendly visit from the sheriff. To the extent that any Negroes could pay the poll taxes and meet the literacy tests and overcome the other discriminatory barriers erected by Southern registration laws, it was by and large, urban Negroes. Hence there is hardly a major city in the South today in which Negroes do not constitute a major political force. Often, the Negro vote can be decisive. As whites move out and Negroes move in, Negro voting strength becomes stronger.

To be sure, sometimes there is difficulty persuading the urban Negro in the South to go to the polls. But this is not always the case. Very often it depends on who is running and what the issues are. Just a few days ago the conservative Richmond News Leader complained that whereas only 63 per cent of the white registration in that city voted last November, 73 per cent of the Negro registration voted. A bit reluctantly, no doubt, The News Leader concluded that "the administration of local affairs rightfully belongs to those who go to the polls come election time."

But as important as the urban Negro vote is, even more stirring developments are taking place in the oft-forgotten rural areas of the South. It is in these areas that the civil rights struggle is most fierce and most hazardous. It is in these areas that the road to political participation is most difficult and most dangerous. Only one of the 23 Negro legislators in the South comes from a rural area. Nevertheless, many seemingly minor but locally significant offices are being won in rural areas.

West Feliciana Parish in Louisiana provides as good an illustration as any I know of. A little over four years ago, not a single Negro was registered in this small parish, although well over half the parish population is Negro. Now more than 2,000 Negroes were registered in this parish, thanks to three things---civil rights activity, the Voting Rights Act and grants from the Voter Education Project. And last November, six Negroes were elected to parish offices in West Feliciana Parish. This is a picture which is gradually beginning to emerge from some of the rural areas in the South where some of the worst racist oppression has taken place. In a few minutes, I plan to tell you what meaning this rural political activity has for the cities, North as well as South.

Thus far, I have attempted to identify two important new forces in the politics of urban America: the Negro voter and the Negro officeholder. Of course, we have had some of each of these forces for many years. But now we have both in large numbers, and each constitutes a major urban political force.

There is a third new force which ought to be mentioned. It is the community, or indigenous, organizations. I have in mind particularly those neighborhood organizations set up under the anti-poverty program.

Others are being organized, publicly or privately, to deal with some special neighborhood need related to ghetto life.

Very rapidly, these community organizations have learned that their demands, no matter how legitimate, generally must be backed with political muscle. They are learning that political participation is a route to justice and the realization of their aspirations. Thus these community organizations quite frequently have political awareness as a major emphasis.

Mayors, county bosses and backward-looking politicians are not unaware of this fact. This explains a great deal of the political opposition to the poverty program. It explains Congress' desire to tack on the Green Amendment and other crippling restrictions designed to check the poverty program's thrust in the direction of political participation on the part of the nation's poor.

Hence, the survival of this new force in the urban political process depends to a degree on how well the poverty program survives. At this point, one would have to say that outlook is unencouraging---perhaps even bleak.

I could mention reapportionment as another new urban political force. Indeed it was reapportionment that made possible the election of 11 Negroes to the Georgia Legislature. And reapportionment is making legislatures, previously almost totally rural in outlook, at least slightly more responsive to the needs of cities. But reapportionment also has made possible the election of suburban conservatives and reactionaries as well as urban progressives. As a result of reapportionment 20 new members of Congress were elected from suburbs of big cities in 1966. Only five of these new members voted against the drastic curtailment of funds for the Model Cities program. So this force, if we define it as one, moves simultaneously in differing and offsetting directions.

Having identified the new forces of urban political power, the question next becomes what are the problems inherent in making these forces effective. More specifically, how can these forces be made vehicles for meeting the needs of the urban poor and, particularly, the Negro poor?

If these are truly forces to be reckoned with, then there is bound to be conflict over who will lead them. Such conflict rages continually among urban Negroes today. Just a decade or so ago---and I speak especially of Southern cities, which I know best---a handfull of Negroes made all the decisions for the black people of the community. Generally, these were the city's better educated and more successful Negroes. In a word, they were middle-class. In almost every city today, these rulings cliques no longer make all the decisions. In city after city, their power has diminished drastically in the space of a few years. No longer are they the sole consultants for city hall.

The first direct challenge came from the student protesters in the sit-in movement. Nowadays the challengers come from leaders of the community organizations I mentioned earlier. These "grassroots" organizations are demanding a share in the decision-making and a place in negotiations with city hall and the city's white power groups, such as chambers of commerce.

These conflicts over leadership do not lend themselves to unanimity among urban Negroes. But neither do the times nor the issues. No longer, usually, is the issue simply black vs. white. And objectives are not as easily defined as they were when the target was desegregation of lunch counters and public accommodations. Today the city-wide Negro leadership may be pushing for jobs, housing and better education. But the indigenous organizations may be more interested in paved streets, playgrounds, street lights and better police protection.

An unending battle wages between Negro conservatives and more militant leaders whom we might describe as Young Turks. But even the latter are having to prove their intention and their capacity to lead to the more radical and less rational Black Power advocates. City hall and the chamber of commerce only make the situation more difficult with their seemingly irrestible temptation to brand one leadership group or the other as being "responsible." Black Power groups cannot be excluded from the leadership. There is a tremendous emotional response among Negroes to their position. So black leaders today mush be responsive to a wide range of opinion within the black community. The role is not an easy one to fill.

Another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is alignment or non-alignment with some of the old urban forces. In some parts of the country, urban Negro voters have allied themselves with upper middle-class and power structure whites to elect moderate but cautious white officials. There are strong signs that the burgeoning

Negro vote is ready to reject these alliances, which always were undependable anyway.

No longer will Negro voters be willing to align themselves with those who seek Negro support in the election of a mayor and congressman and then instruct those mayors and congressmen to vote against Negro positions on such issues as open housing and the location of public housing units. In short, the alliance with wealthy whites---which has existed in some Southern cities---has proved too much a one-way street to suti Suit the growing Negro vote.

Neither can labor be counted upon as a regular ally. Negroes are looking with increasingly suspicion at the discriminatory practices of many unions. They are looking with increasing suspicion, too, at paper coalitions formed with labor leadership a few weeks before the labor fellowship goes out to vote for the racist candidate. There is a growing awareness among Negro leaders that this sort of thing happens more often than it should.

Lest you think that I overstate the case against labor, let me tell you about a meeting at which I spoke just a few days ago. This was a regional meeting of up-and-coming young prospective labor leaders from Southern states. At this meeting---a presidential poll was taken. The results revealed that the front-runner was not Johnson, not McCarthy, not Nixon, and not Romney. It was, instead, none other than the de facto governor of Alabama, George Wallace. When I spoke, I found out that the poll accurately reflected the sentiments of these young white union men, and I am quite sure that the prejudices run just as deeply, if not deeper, among the rank-and-file in the locals back home. Urban Negro voters have more than ample reason to be wary in their dealings with labor.

On the other hand, it is clear that Negroes cannot in most cases win by "going it alone." Alliances and conditions are undoubtedly necessary. Yet they cannot be as tenuous, uncertain and unrewarding as in the past.

Still another problem confronting the new forces of urban politics is the problems these forces have with each other. I speak now about the relations between Negro officeholders and Negro voters.

Every officeholder must try to remain on good terms with his constituency. But for Negro officeholders today, this basic political task is doubly difficult. There is a strong feeling among some American Negroes today that the entire "system" is corrupt, and that this means each and every officeholder, whether black or white. Often the Negro officeholder becomes a favorite target of abuse from the very people who elected him. Whether fairly or unfairly, his constituents expect him to deliver tangible benefits. If he does not deliver, and pretty fast and often, he is assumed to be a "sell-out."

Even the Negro candidate for Congress in southwest Mississippi, Charles Evers, is viewed with suspicion by some Mississippi Negroes. When candidate Evers went to predominantly Negro Tougaloo College a few days ago, he encountered hostile questions. It seems that Mr. Evers was accused of being something of an Uncle Tom because he chose to run for Congress. He was reprimanded for saying that he would strive to represent all the people of the district.

From the standpoint of the Negro voter, it must be said that some of the suspicion about Negro officeholders are understandable. There have been enough Negro officeholders who have been guilty of Uncle Tomism to make Negro voters wary of them all. Very often the Negro officeholder walks a booby-trapped path, with enemies of both colors waiting in ambush, on all sides. Usually he must sit at the table with white officeholders of equal and higher ranks. But the very act of sitting down at the table seems to cost him support among some Negro voters. We may find more and more Negro officeholders going out of their way to get criticized by white politicians. There is nothing like an attack by white interests to repair one's fences among Negro voters.

The Negro officeholder must have some victories in the councils of government to carry back to his constituents. The Negro officeholder must produce legislative and policy concessions that go to the heart of ghetto problems, or his days in office are numbered. Such victories also are needed as antidotes to the frustration and disillusionment that lead to urban violence.

Another problem facing the new forces in urban politics is the movement toward metropolitan government and city-county merger. There is a great hue and cry today for consolidation of local government units to provide a broader and more effective base for meeting our multiplying urban problems. This also is a means of recapturing for the city those well-to-do whites who have moved to the suburbs for a variety of reasons---among them the desire to escape taxes, responsibility and Negroes. There is much to be said for this consoli~~t~~dation trend in local government.

At the same time, this trend poses a threat to the new forces of urban political power that we have been talking about. Generally, the result is a dilution of Negro voting strength. Sometimes it sounds almost like a form of gerrymandering designed to prevent the rise of Negroes in local politics. There is a joke now to the effect that Atlanta will extend its borders to Macon, 90 miles away, if it will prevent the election of a Negro mayor. Three Southern cities---Miami, Nashville and Jacksonville---have forms of metropolitan government. I must confess some misgivings about this approach if it means blunting the forces for change and reform.

Likewise, Negroes should be on guard against another "good government" device often pushed in the cities, and that is citywide or areawide elections as opposed to district elections. District elections is a major reason why Georgia alone has nearly half of the Negro legislators now serving in the South. Areawide and at-large elections usually mean fewer Negroes at the tables of government.

The community groups and indigenous organizations that I talked about are groping to maximize their effectiveness and to bring needed programs to their community.

Yet, they are relatively inexperienced in government and public affairs, especially in the South, and there is much they need to know. They need to know how to best relate their new political strength to bread-and-butter issues. The tremendous enthusiasm of the new indigenous groups must be matched with technical political skills and know-how, information and research, and an understanding of the nature and functions of government. These groups need an investment of resources and people to help them help themselves.

The leaders of the indigenous groups today are those who yesterday were inspired by the bands of youth in the South who preached to them the gospel of political participation. Having inspired them, and having led them thus far in the political process, the idealistic students of the early sixties have largely abandoned their unlettered but courageous friends of the cotton fields and the Buttermilk Bottoms at a time when they are most needed. Indeed the greatest hope for the masses of Negroes rests with the young, educated, Negro middle-class. They are needed as community organizers, proposal writers, lawyers, doctors, welfare specialists and the like.

I said earlier that Negro political success in the South influences the solution of urban problems, including those of Northern cities. This is so because rurally oriented Southern conservatives are the quickest to vote against any congressional proposal that has to do with the plight of the cities. Moreover, these Southern conservatives command key congressional committees that can kill or cripple legislation designed to help the cities. In the past these Southern conservatives have relied on white voting blocs to retain office. The future of these Southern conservatives is decided periodically in dusty crossroad towns that Manhattan never heard of. That is why, if I make myself clear, 260,000 Negro voters in Mississippi can have a lot to say about what happens in Harlem, Watts and Hough.

I began this talk by telling how my aunt moved from a rural country to the city. Despite the disappointments and rigors of urban life, she, like most Negro Americans, has not lost faith in America, nor hope for solving the nation's racial problems. She is among those Negro Americans referred to in two recent polls of Negro opinion. The polls reveal the Negro's abiding faith in himself and his country.

The questions, however, is whether or not her children and grandchildren will inherit and hold on to her faith and her hope. I say this because their faith and hope are shattered almost daily, as must have been the case in Orangeburg, South Carolina last week. For there in Orangeburg, the children and grandchildren of those who came to the city for a better quality of life remember that they could not bowl in the local alley because they are black. Some are proclaiming that if they could not bowl at the bowling alley, they cannot go to Vietnam. They hear the mayor saying that Orangeburg's race relations are as good as any city's in the nation. They see the governor telling the nation that Black Power was the cause of it all. And they witness Henry Smith, a fellow student, shot, dragged off campus, slugged with billy clubs, struck by a gun butt, dying by gasping, "You can hit me, but you can't hurt me no more."

So that black youths in the ghetto are asking, "Keep WHAT faith, baby?"

The democratic political process can restore that faith and renew that hope. Whether it will or not remains to be seen.

To: Ed and Paul

On Thursday, June 8, Mrs. McDonald of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors will bring her Ghanaian to the office to lunch with Ed Stanfield at 12:30. Immediately after lunch, Paul, the gentleman will come back to the office to have a session with you, after which he will do whatever is next on his agenda.

Mrs. McDonald has put in the mails today a biog. sheet on the gentleman -- which I hope at least gives us his name!

Bill:

Attached is a copy of the November, 1966 Federationist which was on Civil Rights. You will note on page   an article describing the Workers Defense League apprenticeship program in New York. I thought that perhaps this would be of some value as background on Ernest Green.

MEMORANDUM

VJ
TO

FYI, I asked Winifred Green to ask around in Alabama about counties needing federal examiners, since none have been assigned in that state for quite a while. She called the other day and named three: Talladega, Lee and Bullock. Negro registration is indeed low in Talladega and Lee, but it is high in Bullock. Winifred explained that she has no direct information or reports about intimidation, difficulty of registering, etc. in these counties. Rather she is passing along, at my request, the names of counties mentioned to her in her travels around Alabama. I asked her to continue to ask around wherever possible, since it is good to have this sort of information.

MW

Reading File

BROTHERHOOD OF NEW HOPE

PROPOSED POSITION FOR VISTA VOLUNTEER

INTRODUCTION:

While it is perhaps impossible to demonstrate a direct causitive relationship between poverty and crime, there can be no doubt that it is the poor - the unskilled and unsophistocated - who are most frequently apprehended, convicted and sentenced. The average prisoner is poor - the average releasee is destitute. He is returned to the community with a few dollars and a shabby suit of clothes. He cannot afford a decent place to live; he has great difficulty in obtaining employment. If he finds a job, he often cannot afford the necessary work clothes, tools or transportation costs. He feels insecure, branded, rejected. His already strong sense of powerlessness to succeed in legitimate ways is accentuated.

The releasee frequently finds housing in the slum where he almost inevitably becomes entangled in the web of community pathology. He seizes upon opportunities to improve his position in illegimate ways. But, his lace of skills makes success unattainable and he is once again arrested and returned to prison, usually, for an even longer period.

Research has supported two contradictory findings: First, that the offender, at the moment of release, is most highly motivated to change his patterns of behavior and lead an acceptable life in the community; secondly, that the rate of return to prison is highest during the first few months after release. The observations above render this apparent contradiction understandable.

It is at this crucial point - this moment of high hope and of imminent frustration and despair - that the Brotherhood of New Hope and agencies like it intervene by easing financial difficulties, providing shelter, job placement, counseling, and an atmosphere in which people can struggle together to overcome difficulties.

A VISTA Volunteer working in such an agency could make a significant contribution toward restoring these men to useful and productive lives.

JOB DESCRIPTION:

I. Major Duties and Responsibilities

The Volunteer would perform a wide variety of functions as assigned by the Executive Director.

a. He would perform routine chores connected with the day-to-day operation of the residential community.

b. He would assist the Director in developing job opportunities.

c. He would provide pre-employment counseling and post employment guidance and support as his skills permit.

d. He would participate in group activities both recreational, educational and therapeutic, assuming the roles of leader and peer, as appropriate, and, hopefully, serving as role model for the men residing in the center.

e. He would serve as a liaison person between the center and the agencies and programs of the War on Poverty, thus facilitating the center's use of existing services.

II. Supervision

a. The Volunteer would, naturally, remain responsible to the supervisory structure of the VISTA Program.

b. He will be immediately responsible to the Executive Director of the Brotherhood of New Hope, or to any person designated by the Director for those activities which take place during the working day.

c. The Executive Director will cooperate with the VISTA Field Supervisor in developing a mutual acceptable pattern of supervision and responsibility.

Manuscript Sent to Evans Harrington
U. of Mississippi
Dept. of English
University, Miss.

Reading File

DAMN NIGGERLOVERS

I have just come back from Mississippi. There, where so much of the simple truth of the South's racial struggle has always showed clearest, and where the Negro movement of the South came to know the immensity of what it had undertaken to do (it knew its victories elsewhere), again, a clarity and new awareness seem evident. This new thing may be the firmest foothold found so far ~~in~~ after all the floundering in slipperiness that the southern movement has known since it achieved its miracle, the procedural reform of institutionalized southern discrimination through federal legislation back in 1964 and 1965. It is an approach to the difficult job of developing compliance with the new law and of reshaping the institutions, and one of its exciting ideas is involvement of the poorest Negro people in the most complex of federal-state governmental and political bureaucracy -- specifically, a phase of the poverty program, the head-start schools. In simple terms, the approach is not merely to provide the children with the badly needed (and rarely available anywhere) opportunity for intelligent pre-school training, but also to provide adults with the experience, skills, and confidence of having participated successfully in a typical big organization, highly organized and complicated and sophisticated.

A similar development seems underway in the Black Belt of Alabama, with Negro farmers in ten counties making a desperate, last-ditch effort to hold onto the land, to resist being shunted off into the city slums, an awareness among the very poorest of them that life on the land is preferable. They are seeking ~~[illegible]~~ a solution through growing and marketing cooperatives. In both these enterprises, and in others across the South, the emphasis is on individual needs and the finding of a way for people on the rise to fight and survive in the reality of America's complicated social and economic institutions.

I find myself bemused by how tough and rational all this is, how far it seems from nonviolence, the singing and the praying and the marching, the emphasis on philosophical principles and moral absolutes, the seeming to promise that salvation was at hand for the white South with freedom for the Negro, that old spirit that first captivated and finally converted the likes of a lot of white Southerners like me. In its way, this ~~[illegible]~~ thing seems as far from that old spirit as does black power.

Is it? Indeed, is it not farther. For black power, whatever else it did, continued the main discussion that the old movement had begun with white America, a discussion about love and hate, about violence and nonviolence, about, ultimately, life and death. In 1963, Thomas Merton could write (in Ramparts, Christmas issue, with real relevency) " . . . Now the white man must do his share, or the Negro's efforts will have no fruit. The sin of the white man is to be expiated, through a genuine response to the redemptive love of the Negro for him. The Negro is ready to

suffer, if necessary to die, if this will make the white man understand his sin, repent of it, atone for it . . . ."
In 1966, Stokely Carmichael had given up on the white man, and could say (in *New York Review of Books* September 22, 1966), "The word love is suspect. Black expectations of what it might produce have been betrayed too often. But those were expectations of a response from the white community, which failed us. The love we week to encourage is within the black community."

It was the same discussion begun by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., (and all the nameless Negro preachers who cried to the mass meeting audiences that "we must love those who oppress us, do good to those who have done wrong to us . . . ."), in the same idiom and the same context of Negro-white interaction. The talk in the beginning had been of love; it has turned to a revulsion from whites; some say it now expresses hate. But what, in any real semantic or psychological sense, is the difference between talking of loving all whites and of hating all of them?

Is it hate? Or in the terms that Southerners know best, is it racial prejudice that is expressed in the shibboleths and implications for violent action in the rhetoric of black power. The white Southerner, and particularly the one who has renounced his cultural conditioning as regards race, can smell prejudice, can sense the racist remark coming from a stranger long before he utters it. It is a familiar, stomach-tightened unpleasantness. I have known the feeling on occasion with individual

Negroes, and have felt that I smelled racism in black-power enclaves. (The term was flung like cold water into the face of American liberalism; we have talked of little else since, despite the fact that the organizations which flung it were even then dwindled and near the bankruptcy they now face, and their programs, dwindled also almost to nothing, amount so far to failure where they do still exist. 18 ~~Six~~ months before the term was uttered, I walked onto the grounds where a meeting was being held of a kind to which in the past I had been one of those welcome white observers. This time I was greeted by a Negro youngster, no more than sixteen, glaring and pugnacious who called me in my city suit a white farmer. I said to myself in my startlement well maybe it does him good.)

I think in my reaction (and in that of white liberalism generally to the term and even in the masochistic reaction of some whites to the diatribes of LeRoi Jones) is summed up an essential difference between the white prejudice we have known in our bones in the South since birth, and whatever it is against all white people that some Negroes have come in this time to speak out loud. This difference is of course that there is historical and psychological and personal justification for the unreason in the hate of all whites that any American Negro might feel or utter. There is the old guilt, and, again, as did redemptive love, black power speaks almost exclusively to this white guilt. The term black nationalism in this sense has a validity. There are valid reasons for enemity, for solidarity against what historically has been a common enemy;

there are old scores to settle. The enmity of Jews for Germans (and the struggle on both sides by people of good will to somehow transcend history) is suggested. So, paradoxically, is the scornful despising of all Yankees by southern generations after the Civil War, this still breathing fiercely in certain older relatives I remember in my childhood.

Need it even be said that all of the varieties of this, all this classification of degrees and tones of an individual's holding a single emotion for a class or a race or a nation of people, millions of the unknown, unseen, is an exercise in reason about the unreasoning? Whatever else it has meant in human history, nationalism has never been one of man's most rational expressions of himself; increasingly it has become irrational to the point of suicidal. And nationalism in its hostilities seems the best face that can be put on the human tendency to Undifferential~~ity~~ed, fixed emotional response to unknown masses of other people.

Of all peoples, Southerners, both black and white, surely know the most of the tragedy of the results of such emotional response for all of a race of people. Now we are learning, some of us, the reversal of what we had always known. I listened recently as a Negro friend told, shaking his head, of a good friend of his who had come to hate whites. He sat there, puzzling over it, expressing the old sorrowful, regretful wondering about such a thing -- in a person one loves -- that I have felt a thousand times. About the only good of such a sorry situation is that we, my friend and I, had a new empathy; we knew more of one another's heartbreak and torn loyalties, how each could be loyal to an "enemy," and yet how the other is despite himself fearful of this.

Relationships of people, one to the other, in the little that we know of their myriad tangles of complex conscious and unconscious dynamics, are, God (and the psychiatrist) knows, complicated enough. With the loaded factor of race and the knowledge of prejudice thrown into the tangle, it is remarkable that there is what communication there is. Honesty, as complete as one is capable of, is about the only good policy. I remember a conversation with a young Negro I had just met. He told me about being in a convict camp, on one of those trumped-up charges not part of civil rights demonstrations, but involving an honest mistake on his part, seeking service at an all-white restaurant in a small southern bus terminal. He told me of his struggle with himself afterward to quit hating all whites; he had achieved it, he said. But he still didn't like being around them much. And then he asked me why I wanted to work in an interracial organization devoted to equal opportunity in the South. I gave him the answer that came to me (one I had not admitted to myself before). Maybe, I said, it's because I'm afraid of the same thing you were -- of being a hater. He said he could accept that.

We have lived with the tragedy and irrationality of racism all our lives in the South. It has been cultural, imbued in whites with all the force and tenacity of childhood conditioning. In this, white Southerners have had a sort of rationalization, and come off slightly better in comparison with their northern brothers in their new-found, euphemistically and most unfairly labeled "backlash" racism. Many white Southerners are racist like they are religious (the Black Belt is the Bible Belt) -- without much thought or depth; it is simply the thing to do. This is, remarkably, still true even after all the extraordinary and compellingly beautiful evidence of the past seven years or so that it is not really the right thing to do at all. Folkways die hard; we might rejoice with Richard Hoggart (The Uses of Literacy, Essential Books, Inc., 1957) that this is true of the sounder undergirdings of the British working class against the blandishments of life-cheapening popular culture. But applied to white southern racism, his estimation that it takes ~~at least three~~ generations is sobering. It comes down, in the South, to what parents teach their children.

We get different explanations of what it has come to in the rest of the country. Paul Goodman (in the New York ~~Times Magazine~~ Review of Books, Nov. 3, 1966), has suggested a more benign if not more hopeful motivation, saying that most Americans have withdrawn from the public sector into their homes, lavishing all their energies and emotions on them, and that the Negro in stereotypes of crime and slovenliness seems a threat to this last retreat. The reaction is therefore fierce. An article on the Chicago mobs which attacked nonviolent demonstrators like so many back-country Southerners ("I've Got Nothing Against the Colored, Understand?" in Ramparts, November, 1966) gives the most sinister of explanations: A worker for the Chicago Commission on Human Relations is quoted as saying: "But the new immigrants -- people forget what our immigration policy has been. You don't get in unless you can prove you never had communist connections, you're absolutely an anti-communist. Who are the people who qualify? Hell, the immigrants in the last 15 years around here are fascists, and you'd better damn well know it."

In Britain, they say, there is modified discrimination; a Negro may find a home or apartment among whites, so long as he has a white friend who can vouch that he is not one of those unsavory ones. One suspects, whether agreeing with Goodman's grim analysis or not, that something like this operates in America, even in parts of the South where enlightenment has spread. After all, it is demonstrable (one sees it riding into work, reads it every day in the papers, can study it in the Moynihan ~~[illegible]~~ report) that the majority of Negroes do live in squalid, crime-infested slums. Never mind that prejudice, most of it southern racism, put them there. The process proves self-perpetuating; we exported not just the victims of prejudice, but with them, the seeds of more prejudice. Will they not bring squalor and crime with them if they move next door, if one should want to marry your daughter? This kind of fear and prejudice (and fear is among the breeders of the hate the South has known) is considerably ~~muchly~~ founded in class values, yet another mode of irrationality in emotional attitude toward masses of people. It is not exclusively racist; move lily white into a fashionable suburban street and park your pick-up truck in the two-car garage and holler out the window at the children and sit on the veranda in your undershirt, if you doubt it. We are coming to know the culture of poverty; we explored the middle (gray-flannel, lonely crowd) class extensively during the 1950's. Eventually we may come to face some of the truths of invidious comparison -- violence versus hysteria, cleanliness versus emotional warmth, manners versus spontaneity. It is an old comparison; the thrust has ever been upward in class mobility, and is even so in the sour thing that the poverty program has become. Deppite Steinbeck, the middle class has not learned what it might from the poor in America, probably less than Burns has ever taught his audiences.

The dismaying thing in the South -- where one has to fight to keep the perspective that the worst of the racist outrages against humanity are not representative of the total of humanity or of the white race or even of the white Southerner and his cursed culture, a perspective whose loss created black power -- is to see the ease with which the tendencies to racism operate in these others who have not been taught it since childhood. The very victims of it, the Negroes, God bless us, seem~~s~~ capable of taking on its tragic burden; the holier-than-thou Yankees, liberal-voting politicians among them, retreat like so many southern moderates into it. We whites always had the comfort in the South of the knowledge that while in asserting the cause of racial sanity we were down here a despised minority linked to a persecuted one, we were a voice of the mighty majority in the nation and in the world. Now we can begin to doubt this comfort.

We have learned, watching television campaigning, that much of the right-wing nonsense uttered with such piety by bland-faced office-seekers is ~~nonsense~~ dogma, words without meaning except as symbols or cues -- free enterprise, individualism, crime in the streets, federal control, etc. Now there is the terri~~fic~~fying suspicision that the same kind of semantics has been for years employed in some of the politi~~cs~~al utterances of the North -- civil rights, equality, freedom. How quickly, how easily they retreated from those good words, so many of those northern politicians, enough of them, for example, in Congress last year to defeat the Civil Rights Bill that included among its provisions a desperately needed reformation of southern justice.

The South has provided most of the eloquence of language to encompass the nation's racial dilemma. One of its better terms has been "nigger-lover." It is spit out by the white southern racist as a curse and an accusation. Interestingly, its deepest meaning is the reversal of the accusation against prejudice; it says that the white who tries to assert racial sanity is guilty of an undifferentiating attitude toward all Negroes. (It is fine and natural to hate them all, it says. If you don't do that, then you must love them all. "We love everybody," the nonviolent demonstrators sang as late as 1964.) If we are to take words and their meanings with any kind of seriousness, there is a need to sort out some of the semantics of all this generalized, undifferentiating love and hate. At their best, the nonviolent demonstrations in the South achieved a taut and energized tension between the two emotions; Negroes marched with all the power of redemptive love alive in them, at the same time that they knew the hate of the oppressor (coming at them with clubs and tear gas and electric cattle prods) that breathes in every oppressed people. ~~Yeng~~ Ying and yang, love and hate, they are not separable in any human breast; if there is one, there is the other; psychological integration means keeping them balanced. Black power, one suspects, expresses the hate that must be there, individually and collectively, in Negroes. The love, and it is real, has already been demonstrated. Both emotions are still held in some kind of sane balance, by? most Negroes, one would guess.

"I can love white people, like Dr. King says, when I am in church," a young Negro woman said. "But when I see somebody hates me, I can't love him. I hate back." That would seem to be the size of it where sanity holds.

With our guilts, individual and collective here in the South and now we know, across America, we are prone, we whites who embrace the Negro cause, to be nigger-lovers. At best, this is an expression of admiration for qualities in an oppressed people that are shaking America, and of compassion for needless suffering. At its worst, this is no different from racism's undifferentiated hatred. One suspects the latter in the case of politicians who can so easily switch their votes at the merest hint of a reaction in the white majority, and in the case of course of those in the white majority doing the reacting.

The men and women in the South, white and black, who have involved themselves deeply in the racial struggle, however naively nigger-loving or redemptively/loving they might have started out, have come soon to know that this struggle (in which livelihoods, peace of mind, and life itself are sometimes literally at stake) is not at its core over race. It is over the bill of rights, human freedom. Racism has in our lifetime been the dominant mode of the destruction of freedom, most spectacularly of course in Nazi Germany. And the mechanisms for its continuing to be so are frighteningly evident. Hannah Arendt described it (Eichmann in Jerusalem, Viking, 1963): "The frightening coincidence of the modern population explosion with the discovery of technical devices that, through automation, will make large sections of the population 'superfluous' even in terms of labor, and, that, through nuclear energy, make it possible to deal with this twofold threat by the use of instruments beside which Hitler's gassing installations look like an evil child's fumbling toys, should be enough to make us tremble."

A Nobel Prize physicist in California is quoted (Los Angeles Times, October 19, 1966), as urging research in the slums to determine if their "social problems" are not due to heredity rather than environment. ". . . Such research will inevitably bare intelligence distributions of ethnic minorities in general and American Negroes in particular," he is quoted as saying, and then as suggesting the find~~s~~ing would affect the nation's attitude toward welfare programs, modification of abortion laws, and establishment of birth-control clinics. Is a "final solution" implicit here? The story did not say how "intelligence" might be measured; the fallacy of such a proposal is overshadowed only -- remembering the class-based roots of much of the new northern prejudice -- by its ominousness. It was, in large part, the historians tell us, the "scientific" influence of fallacious anthropology and social Darwinism which betrayed the nation into its failure to end racism after the Civil War. The tragedy goes marching on.

In the South, the hate and the destruction of freedom in racism has extended, from the pre-Civil War beginning, to those whites who stood against the racism. A white man's house is bombed, a white lawyer is driven out of a town. They, most of all, know that it is not for any undifferentiating attitude they might have toward Negroes, any nigger-loving, for which they were willing to so suffer. It is freedom. And what they know, too, is that at the center of the meaning of freedom is the right to differentiate -- to accept or reject each human being, any human being on an individual basis, and with this comes a new understanding and awe and respect for the potential of each individual human being.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I am just back from Mississippi, and there and in other parts of the South, the spirit that promises most for continued progress of Negroes (and their white brothers and sisters) has ostensibly not much to do with the old themes of love and hate, brotherhood and redemption. The effort is to find satisfactory solutions to economic and social problems which have long been among the most serious in the world, and have in recent times worsened in such ~~plights~~ situations as that of the rural poor. What seems most hopeful about this is that the communities of Negro people themselves, despite in most instances rather than through the poverty program, are searching and seeking answers for themselves. A discernible motif in this thinking seems to be that they must find a way to shape the superorganized institutions to meet their needs, not shape themselves to fit institutions. And this of course is directly out of the experience and spirit of the old movement. The aim of education, for example, in the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) head-start schools (probably the most successful embodiment of the new spirit) is the old, good, undiluted one of progressive education to allow each child to develop his own potential, not as someone wants the child to be, but as the child is. It is out of such respect and belief in the value of individuals, of course, that the pitfalls of nigger-loving are by-passed, and the insanity of that other unparticularized cast of mind, racial hatred, may eventually be cured.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

MEMORANDUM

TO: PA, GB, LK

FROM: EMORY VIA

RE: WALL STREET JOURNAL

It is my understanding that we have agreed that the Wall Street Journal will circulate to Paul Anthony, Emory Via, and Research. Paul and Emory will mark it but research will still scan it for its own needs before clipping.

I would like to receive back a few clips marked for my personal use which are not of general interest to research files.

Although it would be simplest to have the ~~p~~paper go to research for routing, I would assume if any of the others of us receive the paper they will see that it is routed to all concerned.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Professional Staff and Research

FROM: Emory Via

I have gone through the attached inventory of Research and attempted to mark by red pencil those items which might hold some interest for us either because they suggest Adult Education approaches or because they are relevant to our direct program interest. In most cases where I spotted a Southern sponsor of the research this has been underscored.

I pass it on to you fof what ever value it might have.

SOUTHERN COUNTIES WHERE THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO VOTERS IS LESS THAN 30%*

ALABAMA

Baldwin	27.4%
Chambers	22.1
Houston	26.3
Madison*	29.8
Marshall	23.9
Morgan	28.7

FLORIDA

No county

GEORGIA

Baldwin	20.3%
Banks	29.6
Bibb	19.6
Bleckley	12.5
Brooks	15.9
Burke	24.2
Calhoun	21.3
Chattahoochee	6.5
Clay	17.8
Clayton	29.4
Clinch	29.5
Crawford	22.0
Dawson	.0
Decatur	22.1
Early	15.3
Echols	7.7
Fayette	5.1
Forsyth	.0
Franklin	14.4
Glascock	6.3
Grady	24.0
Harris	24.4
Hart	23.2
Jeff Davis	11.9
Jenkins	29.5
Lee	9.9
Madison	10.7
Marion	14.7
Miller	16.2
Mitchell	25.0
Newton	26.1
Oconee	17.6
Oglethorpe	19.2
Peach	22.2
Pulaski	18.2
Quitman	22.6
Randolph	23.7
Schley	23.3
Stewart	23.1
Talbot	26.4
Taylor	24.7
Terrell	11.1
Thomas	21.6
Towns	.0
Twiggs	14.1
Union	.0
Upson	24.6
Webster	23.7
Worth	21.8

LOUISIANA

Bossier	16%
Caddo	24
Claiborne	27
Franklin	9
Morehouse	16
Richland	17
Tensas	20
W. Carroll	13

MISSISSIPPI

Alcorn	22.7%
Amite	26.7%
Chickasaw	17.5
Copiah	22.7
Forrest	27.5
Franklin	19.4
George	21.2
Humphreys	23.1
Itawamba	14.2
Jasper	26.6

*Figure for Madison County, Alabama does not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated.

MISSISSIPPI, cont'd

Jones	28.0%
Kemper	11.4
LaFayette	24.0
Lamar	16.2
Leake	24.9
Lee	14.3
Lowndes	15.1
Montgomery	22.5
Oktibbeha	17.9
Pontotoc	17.2
Prentiss	10.5
Quitman	24.3
Rankin	21.7
Scott	18.7
Sharkley	13.7
Stone	13.1
Sunflower	17.1
Tallahatchie	18.1
Tippah	29.2
Tishomingo	15.0
Tunica	8.7
Union	18.3
Washington	24.7
Wayne	14.4
Wilkinson	27.3
Yalobusha	9.6
Yazoo	11.9

NORTH CAROLINA

Beaufort	18.0%
Chatham	22.3
Edgecombe	29.4
Greene	23.8
Jackson	17.6
Mitchell	27.6
Nash	25.1
Swain	10.7
Wilson	28.7

SOUTH CAROLINA

Edgefield	27.2
Marlboro	25.5

SPECIAL NOTE:

Counties for which no data was available:

MISSISSIPPI

Attala
Calhoun
Choctaw
Jackson
Lincoln
Monroe
Noxubee
Pearl River
Perry
Simpson
Smith
Webster
Winston

NORTH CAROLINA

Dare
Graham
Yadkin

The figures used in this list were taken from the VEP publication, Voter Registration in the South--Summer, 1966. They are percentages of the total voter registration in the various counties.

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 300 copies (two cartons) of Voter Registration in the South to Mrs. Spearman at the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Labels are attached. Many thanks.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

GUIDELINES FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT GRANTS

Grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council are made to other groups desiring to operate in three program areas: voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. These guidelines have been developed to help groups decide which type or types of programs they desire. These guidelines also set forth the responsibilities the operating groups have in their association with the Voter Education Project.

Programs are approved only when they provide that the group and its agents will refrain from using funds granted by the Voter Education Project for partisan political activity or propaganda aimed at influencing legislation, or supporting any candidate or political party.

Grant Proposal

The first responsibility of a group applying for a VEP grant is to prepare a grant proposal. The proposal should clearly cover the following points:

Kind of Program -- What type of program is proposed? What justifies the need for the program? What are its goals? What methods will be used?

Where -- What are the political and geographical boundaries of the place to be served by the program? (State, county, precinct, etc.) Include a map if feasible.

Who -- Who are the program personnel and what are their duties?

Cost -- What is the expected cost of the program? Include a detailed budget.

Time -- What is the anticipated duration of the program?

Background -- What is the political picture in the place where the program will operate? How many Negroes voted in the last elections? Have Negroes run for office? Do Negroes hold appointive jobs? Are there active organizations? What are the dates and hours of registration? Give current registration figures. Describe the feeling of the community toward fuller citizen participation.

Operation Under Grant

To fulfill its role as an adjunct of a research and information agency, VEP will occasionally make available to other private groups, the press, governmental agencies and interested individuals, details of registration figures and of programs sponsored through VEP. As part of its educational function, VEP will share program techniques and strategies with the region. Consequently, cooperating agencies have a responsibility to submit periodic reports to VEP.

Disbursements made by VEP for support of programs call for utmost financial integrity at every level of operation. Grants made by VEP are, therefore, subject to financial conditions which if not met will result in termination of grants.

Research Reporting

There are specific conditions governing grant reporting which follow. All cooperating agencies will be required to make periodic reports to VEP on the progress of their programs. It is important that these reports reflect an honest evaluation of the agency's efforts -- good, bad, or indifferent. To insure the reporting best suited to particular programs, VEP is prepared to accept reasonable variations in the form and manner of reports. Indeed, it encourages original material in fulfillment of the narrative reporting requirements.

Organizations conducting voter registration campaigns are required to submit semi-monthly reports setting forth the following: (a) number of persons registered, (b) methods used in getting persons to the registration office, (c) increase of the number of new voters in the two-week period, (d) problems, if any, encountered with local registrars, police, or private citizens, (e) threats of intimidation or economic reprisals, if any, (f) samples of materials, leaflets, posters and programs. Forms for this reporting are provided.

Organizations conducting citizenship education or leadership training programs are required to submit monthly reports, setting forth the following: (a) kinds of programs and method of operation, (b) samples of all materials used,

(c) names and background of instructors, (d) cooperation, if any, with local governmental agencies, schools, and colleges, (e) a measurement of community participation, including the number of people directly involved in citizenship education classes or leadership training seminars. Groups should cooperate with VEP in the gathering of other statistical data as may be required for the purpose of research. Monthly narrative reports also are required from agencies conducting voter registration programs.

Financial Reporting

After approval of a grant by VEP, the cooperating agency is required to establish a separate bank account. VEP will mail a deposit directly to the bank for an amount approximating two weeks cash supply for the program. This amount will be maintained on a draw basis.

Each week the agency will submit to VEP a report itemizing all disbursements from this account and enclosing appropriate vouchers for each disbursement. No special check form is contemplated at the present time. VEP will audit this report and reimburse the bank account for the amount spent. In this way the balance in the bank should be constant until the local program approaches termination. Then the funds would either be refunded or used up (with appropriate reporting).

The bank should be instructed to mail all bank statements directly to VEP. VEP will reconcile these bank accounts and perform certain auditing procedures each month.

Important Note

It is important that all reports - research as well as financial - be submitted on time. VEP will terminate grants to agencies which fail to submit the required reports. Moreover, failure to submit final reports will jeopardize the agency's chances of receiving any future grants.

For further information, write:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NEGROES ELECTED TO STATE OFFICES IN THE SOUTH

(1966 -)

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson	Sheriff Macon County
L. A. Locklair	Tax Collector Macon County
William C. Allen	Justice of the Peace Macon County
William C. Childs	Justice of the Peace Macon County
The Rev. V. A. Edwards	Board of Revenue Macon County
Harold Webb	Board of Revenue Macon County
Dr. Charles Gomillion	School Board Macon County
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Richardson	School Board Macon County
The Rev. K. L. Buford	City Council Tuskegee
Dr. Stanley H. Smith	City Council Tuskegee
Dr. T. S. Williams	City Council Tuskegee
The Rev. Peter Kirksey	School Board Greene County

ALABAMA CONTINUED

James R. Weatherly	County Coroner Sumter County
Clyde Foster	Mayor Triana
David Barnes	City Council Triana
Mrs. Jessie J. Dennie	City Council Triana
Joe L. Fletcher	City Council Triana
William Griffin	City Council Triana

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen	School Board Eudora District
Alex Brown	School Board Plum Bayou-Tucker
Mabon Gladney	School Board Lakeview District
DeArthur Grice	School Board Linwood District
Arthur H. Miller	School Board Collarwey District
Maleada Thomas	School Board Jefferson County
Dr. Morris A. Jackson	School Board Little Rock
T. E. Patterson	School Board Little Rock
The Rev. James D. Alexander	City Council West Helena
Dr. R. Frank Bryant	City Council Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Walter M. Jackson	School Board Board of Trustees Vero Beach
William Blackshear	City Commission Vero Beach
F. Malcolm Cunningham	City Council West Palm Beach
Mrs. Athalie Range	City Commission Miami
Robert Scott	City Council Lawtey
Daisy Waiters	City Commission Dania

GEORGIA

Leroy Johnson	State Senate Fulton County
Horace T. Ward	State Senate Fulton County
William H. Alexander	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Julian Bond	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Benjamin D. Brown	State House of Rep. Fulton County
J. C. Daugherty	State House of Rep. Fulton County
The Rev. J. D. Grier	State House of Rep. Fulton County
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	State House of Rep. Fulton County
John Hood	State House of Rep. Fulton County
R. L. Dent	State House of Rep. Richmond County
Albert Thompson	State House of Rep. Muscogee County
Earl Baggs	County Commissioner Liberty County
Henry Curry	County Commissioner McIntosh County
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	School Board Atlanta
Dr. Horace E. Tate	School Board Atlanta

GEORGIA CONTINUED

Q. V. Williamson	Board of Aldermen Atlanta
David C. Albert	City Council Augusta
B. L. Dent	City Council Augusta
The Rev. C. S. Hamilton	City Council Augusta

LOUISIANA

Peter Smith	Mayor-Pro Tem Grand Coteau
F. J. Atlas	School Board East Carroll Parish
J. W. Holmes	School Board Iberville Parish
Raymond Minor	School Board West Feliciana
Alvin White, Jr.	School Board West Feliciana

MISSISSIPPI

Robert Williams

School Board
Jefferson County

NORTH CAROLINA

Felton J. Chapel	City Council Southern Pines
C. C. Ross	City Council Winston-Salem
Carl H. Russell	City Council Winston-Salem
John S. Steward	City Council Durham
The Rev. E. B. Turner	City Council Lumberton
John W. Winters	City Council Raleigh
Howard Hunter	School Board Hertford County

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy Brown	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Dave Jones	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Booker Washington	County Board of Directors Beaufort County
Paul Murray	Road Commission Williamsburg County
Mrs. Hattie Sims	Magistrate, Gadsden Precinct Richland County
Joseph Stroy	Magistrate, Hopkins Precinct Richland County

TENNESSEE

A. W. Willis	State House of Rep. Shelby
J. O. Patterson	State House of Rep. Shelby
Russell Sugarmon	State House of Rep. Shelby
M/.G. Blakemore	State House of Rep. Davidson
Mrs. Dorothy Brown	State House of Rep. Davidson
Robert J. Booker	State House of Rep. Knox
Blair T. Hunt	School Board Shelby County
Albert Lockard	School Board Lauderdale County
Dan Nixon	Magistrate, 9th District Haywood County
A. D. Powell	Magistrate, 9th District Haywood County
Gladys Allen	County Court Fayette County
Herbert Bonner	County Court Fayette County
William Haslitt	County Court Fayette County
Sherman Perry	County Court Fayette County
Mrs. Geraldine Johnson	County Court Fayette County

TENNESSEE CONTINUED

Charlie Minor	County Court Fayette County
Cooper Parks	County Court Fayette County
H. T. Lockhard	County Court Shelby County
Jessee Turner	County Court Shelby County
The Rev. Robert Richards	County Court Hamilton County
Mansfield Douglas	City Council Nashville
John Driver	City Council Nashville
Robert Lilliard	City Council Nashville
Z. Alexander Looby	City Council Nashville
Harold M. Love	City Council Nashville
Robert Scales	City Council Nashville

TEXAS

Miss Barbara Jordan	State Senate Harris
Curtis Graves	State House of Rep. Harris
Joseph Lockridge	State House of Rep. Dallas
I. W. Brown	City Council Malakoff
Arthur Guidry	City Council Port Arthur
The Rev. S, H. James	City Council San Antonio
Scott Johnson	City Council Huntsville
John Miles	City Council Hearne
Dr. G. H. Radford	City Council Waco
Asberry Butler	School Board Houston
Mrs. Hattie M. White	School Board Houston

VIRGINIA

William M. Cooper	School Board Hampton
Dr. Thomas H. Henderson	School Board Richmond
Charles B. Hutchenson	School Board Lynchburg
David L. Muckler	School Board Portsmouth
Dr. Waldo Scott	School Board Newport News
B. A. Cephas	City Council Richmond
Henry L. Marsh III	City Council Richmond
Winfred Mundle	City Council Richmond
Embria Byrd	City Council Royal Port
Oliver Fortune	City Council Royal Port
H. E. Fauntleroy	City Council Petersburg
Joseph Owens	City Council Petersburg
Ernest A. Gaines	City Council Tappahannock
The Rev. Lawrence A. Davies	City Council Fredericksburg
James W. Holley	City Council Portsmouth
John Wilmer Porter	City Council Dumfries

Staff suite 729

~~Inform~~ Ex. Cttee where Mtg
is - Rm 3. Mezzanine

Find out where development Cttee
will meet Thurs at 3:00?

(Get P[illegible] Ragland)

Ex. committee:

John Wheeler
✓ Josephine Wilkins ✓
Paul Christopher
✓ Ray Wheeler
James Dabbs
Albert Dent
C. G. Gomillion
Mrs. Harvey
H. Franklin Williams
Marion Wright
Jane Young?
Joe Haas?
~~McNeill Smith~~

Devel. Cttee:

✓ Nat Welch
✓ C.H. Thomas
~~Lee B. Thomas~~?
✓ Ralph Dreger
✓ Dave Scull
✓ Paul Christopher
✓ Mrs. Harvey
✓ Herbert Davidson
✓ Fred Alexander?
✓ Joe Wilkins
✓ Ray & John Wheeler, ex officio
Dabbs

✓ (Get 1c Ray Wheeler's Report)

✓ 11/16/66 Get resolution from Don Hollowell re: Y.? 1 Co [illegible] SC

11/17/66 Get Resolution from Ralph Dreger

Mr. James A. Hammond
Administrator
Commission of Community Relations
Citizens Building
Room 806
Tampa, Florida 33602

Dear Mr. Hammond:

Thank you so much for sending a copy of the student handbook, " Employment Qualification Workshop," and the news clip on your training project.

Would you be able to send me four more copies of the student handbook?

I trust it won't be too long before I can visit you in Tampa again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Project

EFV/jd

Memorandum

To: M. Smith

From: E. Via

So, you are still figuring out angles how to get me involved in Fort Lauderdale! Good! I have some ideas as to materials and possible resources for Mr. Hibben. I think he would find the articles dealing with employment and economic situation in the November Federationist of interest. Also, the current issue of the Occupational Outlook Quarterly put out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics is devoted exclusively to Negro employment and would have articles of interest. Further he should take a look at the "Freedom Budget" proposals from the A. Philip Randolph Institute, expecially as they relate to manpower programs. He can get some assistance from the Regional Urban League here in Atlanta. Perhaps his best contact there is either with Ben Lewis who heads a thing called L.E.A.P. (Labor Education Advancement Project) or with Clarence Coleman, the Regional Director. There is a mixed bag of experience available from Charlotte, North Carolina from an organization known as the Bureau of Employment and Training. It is an attempt to coordinate training and placement efforts and combines several programs available either under OEO or the Labor Department funds and is a contracting agency with the Charlotte Area Fund which is the local coordinating poverty program effort. There are also ties between these organizations with the North Carolina Fund. James Polk is the Director of the Bureau. There are some short comings in their efforts but I think they at least can show statistical improvement and they have had a good bit of experience with the problems of a coordinated approach in a single city's political and economic milieu.

Although I do not have a copy of the book before me we do have a fairly recent collection of readings on problems of poverty in America and I am sure that some of the articles in it would be informative.

Lastly and leastly, I would be pleased if the occasion should arise to work with Mr. Hibben especially regarding the labor movement. I do not consider myself an expert in the manpower and training field but there are a number of materials and experts available. Hibben should be familar with the materials produced by the Labor Department that relatedspecifically to the training programs and how to start them. When I return to the office I can help pull some of these together for you.

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Marvin Wall

If the following address is not on our mailing list, please add them under the media category.

Editor
The Columbus News
701 8th Street
Columbus, Georgia

	ALA.	ARK.	FLA.	GA.	LA.	MISS.	N.C.	S.C.	TENN.	TEX.	VA.	TOTAL
State Senate				2						1		3
State Representative				9	1	1			6	2	1	20
Mayor	2					1						3
City Council (Commission, Alderman)	12		14	4	7	4	9	5	8	6	12	81
Sheriff	1										1	2
Tax Collector	1											1
County Commission (Police Jury, Supervisor, Roads and Revenue)	2			3	10	4		4			2	25
Justice of Peace	2				8	9					2	21
School Board	3	33	1	3	4	1	1		2	6	5	59
Constable					8	6						14
Chancery Clerk						1						1
Magistrate and County Court								2	12			14
County Clerk											1	1
County Coroner	1					1						2
Civil Service Board			1									1
Total	24	33	16	21	38	28	10	11	28	15	24	248

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 577-3796 or 522-8764

Important communications for Georgia's two Negro senators, Horace Ward (seated left) and Leroy Johnson (seated right), are brought to the Senate floor by two legislative interns assigned to the two lawmakers by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The two interns, both Emory University law students, are Bernard Parks (left) and Lenwood Jackson. Standing between the two interns is Vernon Jordan, director of VEP. Jordan said VEP has future plans to employ additional student interns for Negro legislators in the South.

Copies to:

JET Magazine	Columbus News
Atlanta Daily World	Macon Times
Atlanta Inquirer	Thomasville Times
Pittsburgh Courier	Baltimore Afro-American
Southern Courier	

	ALA.	FLA.	GA.	LA.	MISS.	N.C.	S.C.	TENN.	TEX.	VA.	TOTAL
STATE SENATE			2						1		3
ST. REPRESENTATIVE			9	1	1			6	2		20
MAYOR	2				1						3
VICE MAYOR				1							1
MAYOR PRO TEM				1							1
CITY COUNCIL (COMMISSION, ALDERMAN)	12	14	4	5	4	9	5	8	6	12	79
SHERIFF	1									1	2
TAX COLLECTOR	1										1
COUNTY COMMISSION (POLICE JURY, SUPERVISOR, ROADS & REVENUE)	2		3	10	4		4			2	25
JUSTICE OF PEACE	2			7	9					2	20
SCHOOL BOARD	3	1	3	4	1	1		2	6	5	26
CONSTABLE				8	6						14
CHANCERY CLERK					1						1
MAGISTRATE							2	2			4
COUNTY COURT								10			10
COUNTY CLERK										1	1
COUNTY CORONER	1				1						2
DEMO. PARISH COMM.				9							9
CIVIL SERVICE BD.		1									1
TOTAL	24	16	21	45	29	10	11	28	15	24	223

MEMORANDUM

TO: William Samuel

FROM: Thad Olive

RE: Meeting of Louisiana Elected Officials

Bill, the following persons have not responded to our letter of invitation. Could you check these out?

Mr. Nathaniel Smith, Sr.
Route 5, Box 315
St. Francisville

Mrs. Mary Lee Goings
Weyanoke Post Office
Weyanoke

Mr. Ellerson Borland
c/o Olton Scott
Route 5-A, Box 818
St. Francisville

Mr. Oliver Cooper
c/o Mr. Emile T. Ricard, Jr.
Route 3, Box 11-B
Vacherie

The Rev. Avery C. Alexander
2921 Philip Street
New Orleans

Mrs. Zelma Wyche
Madison County Voters League
505 Green Street
Tallulah

Mr. Earl Rogue
c/o Mr. Alvin Holmes
Box 36
Clarence

Mr. Larry Barthazar
c/o Mr. Alvin Holmes

Mr. Raymond Julien
Post Office Box 565
Donaldsonville

Mr. Anderson Yancy
517 Park Avenue
Franklin

Mr. Ernest Metz
517 Park Avenue
Franklin

Mr. Anderson Broussard
517 Park Avenue
Franklin

Mr. Morris Barns
c/o 1520 North Market Street
Opelousas

Mr. Rudolph Sorapuru
c/o Mr. George Clark
Route 1, Box 688-E
Reserve

Mr. Harvey Schexnayder
c/o Mr. George Clark

Mr. Whitmore Gordan
c/o Mr. George Clark

Mr. Joseph J. Borne
c/o Mr. George Clark

It is necessary that we know if they are coming so that the necessary arrangements can be made.

Mobile Com action
Andrew Curtiss
Apr 20
Mobile
438-9823

McNeil Smith

1 mac

[illegible]

[illegible]

MEMORANDUM

TO: Pat Watters

FROM: Glenda Bartley

The research department of the Southern Regional Council has a wide variety of information dealing with every aspect of civil rights, from peonage, Negro veterans of World War II, and Smith v. Allright in the 1940's to the poverty program, the northern and southern urban riots, census reports, school directories, law reports, government publications, the Urban Coalition, and Black Power in 1968. This collection of material, the best in the South, is distributed in the following manner: The library has approximately 800 titles. The books contain information on the subjects mentioned above, as well as Negro history, southern history, civil liberties issues, and the like. The pamphlet collection consists of 280 4" x 8" "bins" containing several thousand pamphlets. The newsclip and "materials" (magazine articles, agency and other publications) files occupy 132 file drawers and cover the years 1944-1968. Earlier research material is housed at the Atlanta University Library. A collection of materials, newsclips, notes, manuscripts, posters, and pictures dealing with the revival of the Ku Klux Klan remains in the SRC library. At the present time the research department receives information from approximately 20 newspapers per day, about 20 magazines a week, along with several weekly newspapers, occasional papers from community or voter registration organizations, publications of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the Citizens' Council, SNCC, Negro colleges, scholastic journals, law reviews, student organizations, and church groups.

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB ANDERSON AND PAT WATTERS

FROM: GLENDA BARTLEY

RE: LSCRRC QUESTIONNAIRE

The attached questionnaire requires some speculation about future publications, if we are to request law students to do research in the summer of 1968. Some of the possibilities are untangling:

1. Food stamps v. commodities (rules).
2. Title I ESEA v. School Lunch Act.
3. Bankruptcy and loan laws as they aflict poor people.
4. Bonding laws for elected officials.
5. Qualificiations for office--are they changing? (I know that in Mississippi a couple of years ago was quietly making elective offices appointive. If this continues, we might note it. See attached examples.)
6. Effect of dispersal of federal enforcement powers on school desegregation, with specific emphasis on what federal bureaus new relationships with federal courts have to do with progress in school desegregation.
7. Susan's idea of checking a sample of legal disparities in cases such as the hit and run death of a Negro child/ white child. This might be included in an updating of the Southern Justice report.

These are possibilities; I need something to hang a request for two bodies on.

Janet:

Please enter a subscription to New South for the following person and bill him:

Mr. Beekman Winthrop
400 West 119th Street, Apt. 3-F
New York, New York 10027

Separate mailing:

January 1964 NEW SOUTH
SRC Brochure
Hungry Children
Summer and Fall, 1967 NEW SOUTH
In Their Own Words
A Home of Our Own
Slum Ghettos in Your Town
Neighborhoods Where Human Relations Begin
Atlanta Housing Study
SPECIAL REPORTS:
    Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program
    Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts
Public Assistance in the South
    Public Assistance: To What End?
    A City Slum -- Poor People and Problems
    School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Anderson

FROM: Glenda Bartley

RE: Tunica County, Mississippi Study

It seems to me that Tunica County, Mississippi, would provide excellent material for a special report.. Of its 16,826 population 13,321 are "non-white" and 13,315 of these "non-whites" (79.1% of the total population) are Negro.
Median family income, $1,260, ranks it poorest in the nation in that category. Of its 2,575 Negro families 1,396 live on less than $1,000 a year. Of the 2,575 families, 2,404 earn less than $3,000. Median family income for Negro families is $922. Median per capita income for Negroes in the county is $406 (National median is $1850). 128 ~~people~~ families in the county earned over$10,000; four of these families are Negro.

Median school years completed for the total population of Tunica County is 5.2. For Negroes it is 4.0. 66 Negroes in the county are high school graduates. 439 of the 16,826 total population have finished high school.

It seems that we might get somebody like Neil Maxwell to go talk to the L(at least a representative number) 128 families who are making all the money; to a few of the 439 high school graduates; to a good number of those who are living on less that $1,000 a year, etc. And maybe get somebody else to glom up the statistics and try to explain what they mean. Do a complete thing on the county, in other words; Number of schools. Type of crops. Industry, if any. Towns, if any. Amound of federal aid (and who gets it--it will be the 128 wealthies is my guess), etc.

I think it would be a good report.

MEMORANDUM

TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FROM: GLENDA BARTLEY

Please send six (6) copies of the Atlanta Housing Study (with incumbent map) to Mr. B. A. Scott, Bureau of Public Roads. Label attached.
Authorization: James N. Wood.

Vernon Jordan
Director, VEP

WHY WE ARE HERE

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council welcomes you to the First Institute for Mississippi Negro Elected Officials. The Voter Education Project is proud and honored to sponsor this Institute. We thank you for your presence.

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council. Our aim is to study and research the problems confronting Negroes in the South as they struggle to involve themselves in the political process. Also, our purpose is to assist Negroes in this struggle. The first VEP operated from 1962 - 1964with a primary emphasis on voter registration. In that three-year period, some 600,000 Negroes were registered to vote in the eleven southern states. It is interesting to note that during the first VEP financial grants to Mississippi were suspended because of the exhorbitant cost of registration programs in a hostile, intractable and threatening atmosphere.

The second VEP is entering the third year of a three-year program. Our program emphasis is threefold: Voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. Just this year we have funded some 30 local civil rights organizations and indigenous community organizations in Mississippi to carry out programs of voter registration and citizenship education in 25 counties throughout the state.

Your presence here today is a part of the leadership aspect of our program. Let's talk about why you are here today. A bit of background is necessary. Before the Voting Rights Act of 1965, there were only 35,000 Negroes registered to vote in Mississippi. This was only 8.3 per cent of the Negro voting-age population. Because of the civil rights movement, program grants of the Voter Education Program, local community voter registration efforts and the implementation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, today there are more than 200,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi.

Your presence here today is evidence of the growing political strength of Negroes in Mississippi.

You are here today as a result of active participation in a process basic to our democratic way of life. This is a process from which Negroes in Mississippi have been excluded by law, custom and usage, and bigotry. You are here today as Negro elected officials in Mississippi because individuals, black and white alike, struggled, sacrificed, bled, and died so that black people in Mississippi could have dignity and the ballot. Your presence here today is testimony to their valiant efforts. You are here largely because of these efforts, of which many of you were a part.

That you are here today is historic. You are the first Negroes elected to county-level offices in Mississippi since Reconstruction with the exception of one elected last year. We must avoid the perils that befell your predecessors in the Reconstruction era. Your participation in the political process of the state of Mississippi must be growing and continuing. You must pioneer the way for more and more Negroes to be active in and informative of the process. Your performance in office will blaze the trail for others who will follow.

We look forward to the time when this 22 will be 44, the 44 will be 88, and that 88 in the hundreds. That is one reason we are holding this Institute.

Please understand that this Institute is not a political rally or partisan convention. This Institute is designed to be educational and informative. Our hope is to assist you in understanding the nature of the political process, the duties and obligations of your office, and your responsibility to the people you represent. This Institute is convened to help you to understand and to meet your responsibilities of public office.

It is our hope that this Institute will be instructive to the point of helping you to make government responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people.

We encourage you therefore, to ask questions of the experts, to talk frankly about the problems that confront you as you prepare to take office, and to share with each other your experiences as a candidate and an elected official.

This is the first statewide Institute for officeholders sponsored by the VEP. We conducted a regional meeting of Negroes serving in state legislatures in the South last December. This summer, in cooperation with the Clark College Center for the Study of Southern Public Policy, we convened Negroes from across the South who serve on city councils and county commissions for a two-day seminar similar to the one here today. Immediately following the February general election in Louisiana, we will convene the 28 Negroes elected there already to statewide offices and others that may be elected in that

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE - TO WHAT END?

Introduction

Much criticism of public welfare stems from the need for a basic change, a redefinition -- a restructuring of the premises upon which the present basic welfare programs were built. This report originated from the belief that such a restructuring is necessary and holds the basic hypotheses that, first, the poorest and most needy persons of the United States are not receiving and would not receive, even with the fair administration of welfare regulations, aid commensurate with their need and, second, the relatively and absolutely small amount of expenditures for public assistance is due not to the lack of need but rather to harsh welfare qualifications and a lack of sincere concern for the needy.

In order to test these hypotheses, the 100 poorest counties[1] of the United States were chosen for investigation. These were felt to be areas in which public assistance would be most needed and in which both the faults and the assets of assistance would be most pronounced. Ninety-seven of the 100 counties were in the southern states[2]; one in both

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[1] The median family income of the counties is used as a measure of poverty in selecting these counties, since it seemed to indicate better the central characteristic of the population than did other possible measures.

[2] The three non-southern counties were: Wade Hampton, Alaska; Bethel, Alaska; and Adair, Oklahoma, with respective rankings from poorest to least poor of 12, 46, and 89.

Louisiana and Virginia; three in North Carolina; four in South Carolina; six in Texas, eight in both Arkansas and Alabama; nine in Georgia; 11 in Tennessee; 22 in Kentucky; and 24 in Mississippi. The welfare programs decided upon for use were primarily Old Age Assistance; Aid to the Blind; Aid to Families with Dependent Children; and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled; and secondarily Medical Assistance to the Aged, and General Relief. Individual states' variations of these programs, such as Aid to the Aged for Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and General Assistance for General Relief, differ mainly in detail from those named as basic and are therefore included here in the basic programs. Since these programs for the major part of public assistance efforts and are fairly widespread, they obviously should cover most cases of need. Most basic data was drawn from the U. S. Census of population: 1960. There are so substantial reasons for questioning the relative validity of the figures obtained, though the concrete numbers used have undoubtedly changed. Information concerning the amount and distribution of public assistance was drawn from individual states' annual welfare reports and from regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Information concerning welfare regulations was drawn primarily from the latest (1964) edition of Public Assistance Report number 50, "Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act."

The investigation led to four major conclusions:

1. Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme.
2. Public Assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need.
3. Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate.
4. The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rather than to reach those in need.

Let us examine these conclusions one by one.

THE NEED IS EXTREME

Need in the 100 poorest counties of the United States is extreme. -- The median family incomes per year among the 100[3] counties ranged from a low of $1,260 in Tunica County, Mississippi ($1,740 below the generally accepted poverty level of $3,000[4] and $4,400 below the U. S. median family income), to a high of $1,956 in Atkinson County, Georgia ($1,044 below poverty level and $3,704 below the U. S. median family income). The percentage of unemployment of the civilian labor force in these counties ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson, Kentucky, to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin, Kentucky, with an overall median percentage of 4.9 per cent. Median unemployment for the entire nation was 5.1 per cent.[5]

(The U. S. Department of Commerce defines persons as employed if they are "either (a) 'at work' -- those who did any work for pay or profit, or worked without pay for 15 hours or more on a family farm or in a family business; or (b) were 'with a job but not at work' -- those who did not work and were not looking for work but had a job or business from which they were temporarily absent because of bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, illness, or other personal reasons" [emphasis added].[6] By this definition, all sharecroppers, tenant farmers, many kinds of piece laborers, and unskilled workers in various services as well as industrial or other workers who have been on strike for several months or years, regardless of the amount of income earned or the constancy of the work done, may be counted as employed. While unemployment statistics are given in this report, it can be seen by the comparison of the median unemployment percentages of the 100 poorest counties and the United States that *underemployment* and not *unemployment* is the real problem.)

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[3] While this report actually deals with only 97 of the 100 poorest counties, none of those omitted from comparison fall at the extreme rankings of either the poorest or the least poor. Because of the position of these counties, generalizations made concerning the 100 poorest were not felt to be prejudiced.

[4] This $3,000 level of income seems still to be the basic and generally accepted definition of poverty though it is being constantly limited and expanded, and qualified and broadened.

[5] Hereafter, all statistics concerning median family income will be noted merely as family income. Statistics identified as medians will generally refer to overall medians.

LOUISIANA AND VIRGINIA

Louisiana had one parish (county) among the 100 poorest; Tensas Parish ranked 32nd from the poorest in the nation in family income, $1,683. Seventy and nine-tenths per cent (1,836) of its families had an income of less than $3,000 per year, and unemployment stood at 4.9 per cent of the civilian labor force. Thirty-nine and one-tenths per cent (4.612 persons) of Tensas' population lived on farms.[7] Virginia also had one county in the poorest 100,

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[6] *U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report*, PC (1)-1C, p. xxviii.

[7] The U. S. Department of Commerce defines rural farm residents as "rural residents living on farms" -- "places of 10 or more acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $50 or more in 1959 or on places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to $250 or more in 1959." (*U. S. Census of the Population: 1960 Final Report*, PC (1)-1C, p. vii.)

Lee. Here the family income was $1,856 and unemployment was 10.0 per cent (634 persons). Sixty-nine and one-tenths per cent of Lee's families had an income of less than $3,000; 35.0 per cent lived on rural farms.

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina had three of the 100 poorest counties: Greene, Clay, and Tyrell, ranking 9, 90, and 92, respectively, with respective incomes of $1,451, $1,921, and $1,927. Unemployment rates were 5.0 per cent (237 persons), 9.8 per cent (154 persons), and 7.1 per cent (103 persons), respectively. The percentage of rural farm population varied from 31.9 per cent in Tyrell County to 61.9 per cent in Greene. Clay had 41.2 per cent. The families with incomes below $3,000 per year varied greatly in absolute numbers while staying fairly constant relatively, Greene having 2,444 families or 70.3 per cent, Clay having 971 families or 70.9 per cent, and Tyrell having 752 families, or 71.8 per cent.

SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina had four counties among the poorest: Williamsburg, ranking 24; Lee ranking 31; Calhoun ranking 49; and Clarendon, 98. Respective family incomes were $1,631; $1,680; $1,766, and $1,945. Unemployment ranged from 2.3 per cent (145 persons) to 7.5 per cent (701 persons).

The percentage of rural farm families ranged from 42.1 per cent (5,160) to 52.8 per cent (11,527). In these counties, the percentage of the families with an annual income of less than $3,000 had a median of 68.3 per cent; the range was 1.9 per cent.

TEXAS

Texas had six of the 100 poorest counties. These counties with these respective rankings were: Starr, 34; San Jacinto, 44; Zappata, 48; Kenedy, 63; Houston, 80; and Leon, 99. Family income ranged from $1,700 in Starr to $1,946 in Leon with a median of $1,803. The percentages of families with incomes below $3,000 had a low range of 5.9 per cent with a median of 67.6 per cent. The percentage of rural farm residents ranged from 5.0 per cent to 53.2 per cent with a median of 22.2 per cent. The greatest number of rural farm residents (3,836) were found in Houston County, where they comprised 19.8 per cent of the population.

ALABAMA

Eight Alabama Counties ranked in the nation's 100 poorest. They were: Lowndes, Greene, Wilcox, Bullock, Sumter, Perry, Hale, and Crenshaw, ranking 5, 6, 18, 19, 20, 29, 35, and 87, respectively, in descending order of poverty. The median family income of these families was $1,561. The median unemployment percentage was 4.6; the rural farm population, 36.3 per cent. Of these counties' families, a median of 71.0 per cent had an annual income of less than $3,000.

ARKANSAS

Eight counties in Arkansas were among the poorest: Newton, Lee, Stone, Fulton, Sharp, Woodruff, Lincoln, and Madison, ranking 28, 39, 45, 76, 81, 82, 85, and 93, respectively. The family incomes in these counties ranged from $1,666 in Newton County, to $1,928 in Madison. The median family income was $1,894. Per cent unemployment ranged from 2.1 per cent to 6.1 per cent with a median of 4.2 per cent. Rural farm families composed 31.9 per cent of the families in Lincoln County to 55.9 per cent in Lee, with a median at 43.7 per cent. The per cent of families below a $3,000 income had a rather narrow range of 13.5 and a median of 69.6 per cent. The total number of families below this $3,000 standard was 13,953.

GEORGIA

The state of Georgia had nine of the 100 poorest counties. These, with their respective rankings, were: Webster, 23; Baker, 27; Early, 36; Taliaferro, 56; Burke, 67; Union, 75; Calhoun, 86; Dooly, 97; and Atkinson, 100. These counties had a better-than-average median family income of $1,855 per annum but a still high unemployment median of 4.8 per cent. The median rural farm population was 34.5 per cent and the percentage of families making less than $3,000 per annum was 68.5 per cent.

TENNESSEE

Eleven of the poorest 100 counties of the United States were in Tennessee. These counties with their respective rankings were: Fayette, 3; Hancock, 8; Jackson, 33; Clay, 37; Haywood, 52; Johnson, 54; Lauderdale, 64; Claiborne, 73; Hardeman, 84; Lake, 88; and Fentress, 96. The median family incomes ranged from $1,363 in Fayette County to $1,942 in Fentress with a median of $1,784. The median percentage unemployment was 3.8. Unemployment percentages ranged from 2.5 to 8.4. The percentage of families living in rural farm locations had a wide range of 52.2 per cent with a median of 54.8 per cent. In these poorer counties, the percentage of families with incomes of less than $3,000 had a range of only 12.1 per cent and a median of 69.2 per cent.

KENTUCKY

Kentucky had 22 counties included in the 100 poorest. Family incomes ranged from $1,324 in Owsley County to $1,939 in Adair County. The overall median was $1,818. Unemployment ranged from 1.8 per cent in Robertson County to 21.3 per cent in Magoffin County with a median of 6.5 per cent. Kentucky contained both unemployment percentage extremes for the poorest counties. The percentage of families living on rural farms ranged from 8.9 per cent in McCreary to 70.8 per cent in Metcalf with a median of 52.1 per cent. The range of percentage of families with an income of less than

$3,000 was narrow, 17.7 per cent, with a median of 72.1 per cent.

MISSISSIPPI

The state of Mississippi had the largest number of poorest counties -- 24. The median income of these counties was $1,760. One was under $1,300 per year, five were under $1,500, and 17 under $1,800. Unemployment ranged from 2.7 per cent in Kemper County to 8.5 per cent in Bolivar. The median unemployment percentage was 4.9. The percentage of persons living and working on farms, rural farm residents, had a surprising range for an agricultural areas of from 20.8 per cent in Claiborne County to 64.8 per cent in Benton. The percentage of families with an income of less than $3,000 had a small range of 13.5 per cent with a very high median of 69.9 per cent. The highest percentage was 77.8 per cent (2,700 families) found in Tunica, Mississippi.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IS INADEQUATE

Public assistance in the 100 poorest counties is totally inadequate to relieve existing need. --Whether or not assistance is adequate for the existent need depends largely upon the definitions of the terms "adequate" and "need". In the context of this report, each of these terms has two possible meanings. "Need" may refer to a family's having an annual income of less than $3,000, or it may refer to a family's having less than a particular state's definition of need. (That which is adequate may be that which fulfills the need or that which fulfills a majority of the need.) When the poorest counties are spoken of, the choice of definitions is of little importance. These 100 counties have a median of 70.4 per cent of their families with income of less than $3,000. Of the standards which each state sets for its welfare programs, levels of income below which the individual or family is considered needy, only North Carolina was able to pay 100 per cent in all of its programs.

A LOOK AT THE STATES' EFFORTS

Louisiana made the fourth greatest effort in the nation in public assistance according to 1965 HEW figures. (See Table 1.) Even with this effort, however, in January, 1965, the state was able to provide only $82 of the $123 standard it set for the aged woman on Old Age Assistance, 66.7 per cent of the standard. For a typical family on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman, a boy aged 14, a girl aged 9, and a girl aged 4, who were living in rented quarters, the state could pay only $108.00 of a $164.75 standard which it set, 65.5 per cent of the standard.[8]

For the fiscal year of 1965, Virginia made the smallest effort of any state of the nation for public assistance. (See Table 1.) Although figures for the actual number of welfare recipients are not available, the Virginia welfare program is able to provide 100 per cent of what it defines as a minimum standard of living in its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Relief programs. It provided 90 per cent or 100 per cent, depending upon the funds of the local agencies, of what it considered a minimum standard for its Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. For the two member assistance group, two related persons who are both eligible for assistance, basic needs are set at $74 for APTD and OAA. For a four-member assistance group under AFDC, a mother and three children ages 15, 11, and 5, basic needs are $108 at 90 per cent of need and $120 at 100 per cent of need. A maximum of $75 is allowed for shelter and utilities. Basic needs for two blind adults are set at $93, with the additional $75 for shelter and utilities. These are standards, amounts allowed those qualifying as completely needy. Virginia's actual state average for Old Age Assistance recipients last year was $73.39. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, it was $111.94 per family. For General Relief recipients, it was $53.95.

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[8] Although the states of HEW Region IV, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, have now discontinued the practice of allowing differential amounts of aid for AFDC recipients depending upon whether the children are under 2 years of age, between 2 and 7, between 8 and 13, or between 13 and 18, Louisiana continues the practice. Whether or not this practice is continued in Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina was not determined.

Adequate assistance is not available in the three poorest counties of North Carolina. The state is able to pay the full standard of living it sets in the various programs, but these standards are very low. A family of four receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children is entitled to $84 for basic needs, and a maximum of $60 for shelter and utilities. A single aged or disabled adult is allowed $34 for basic needs; an aged or disabled couple is allowed $57; a blind couple is allowed $81. The amount allowed for shelter and utilities in each of these cases is $60. The median amount spent per case per month in the North Carolina Old Age Assistance program for these three counties was $47.19. In the AFDC program, it was $84.07.[9]

South Carolina sets a standard for an elderly adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program at $77.55 per month. Of this standard, funds permit the payment of a maximum of $75 per recipient. For an elderly couple, the standard is $102.80. A maximum exists of $150. Here the $77.55 and the $102.80 are for basic needs. The additional money of the maximum is allowed for nursing care, custodial care, and housekeeping services when these are required. For blind adults and couples, assistance is available at about the same rate as it is for the aged. For the mother and three children in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, South Carolina sets a standard of $155.80. Of this it is able to pay $77. The maximum amount payable for any case, regardless of the number of children or the need of the family, is $99.00.

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[9] In North Carolina the Aid to the Blind program is headed by an agency separate from Public Welfare. The state average payment per recipient per month last year was $27.97 in the AB program.

According to January, 1965, HEW figures on Texas welfare, Texas set a standard of living - that level of income below which the individual was felt to be in need - of $82 for an average Old Age Assistance case, an elderly woman keeping house alone in rented quarters. The state was able to provide 100 per cent of this amount. Of a standard of living of $153.95 for the average case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a woman and three children, ages 14, 9, and 4, respectively, the state was able to provide $98, in effect, 63.7 per cent. The median amount per case per month of the actual expenditures in the OAA program for the past year in the poorest counties was $59.77. For the AFDC program, it was $87.85.

The latest HEW figures from Revion IV indicate that the

Alabama standard of living for a single adult living alone under the Old Age Assistance program is $124.85. Of this standard, Alabama pays a maximum of $82. For an elderly couple, the state sets the standard of $199.30. Of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $164. For a typical case on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, consisting of a mother and three children, the state sets a standard of $177.00. For this family, the state can pay a maximum of $81. The maximum for a family of any size and need is $127. In percentages, Alabama is able to provide 66 per cent of what is declared minimal for the aged individual. For the aged couple, it is able to provide 82 per cent, and for the dependent family, less than 46 per cent of the need.[10] In actual expenditures, the median expenditure per case per month for the OAA program of Alabama in the poorer counties was $65.93. For the AFDC program, the median expenditure was $51.84.

According to the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare Manual, updated December 15, 1966, each eligible person for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled, AABD, can get a maximum of $81 per person for food, clothing, personal supplies, and medical supplies. Each eligible case for Aid to Families with Dependent Children can receive a maximum of $45 per adult per case and $25 per child per case. The maximum payment for Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' basic and other needs is $174.

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[10] While figures for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled were not available, payments for the programs generally run the same as Old Age Assistance payments or a few dollars, $3,to $8, higher each month.

HEW figures indicate that as of January, 1965, Arkansas was able to pay 88 per cent of the Old Age Assistance standard which it set and only 57.3 per cent of the standard which it set for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. A median expenditure for OAA per case per month of $66.93 was made in the poorer counties of Arkansas during the past year.

For the state of Georgia, the standard for the single elderly adult living alone is $87.25. Of this amount, the state is able to pay $80, 92 per cent of the standard. For an elderly couple, living alone, the state standard is $141.30. Of this amount the state has a maximum of $100, 71.0 per cent of the standard. Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled standards and payable amounts, which were unavailable, run about the same as Old Age Assistance. The Georgia Aid to Families with Dependent Children standard for a woman with three children is $197.60. Of this amount, the state is able to pay a maximum of $125.63 per cent of the standard. The state is able to pay an over-all AFDC maximum of $154.00. This amount is for any number of children. Georgia's actual payments in the OAA program per case per month for the past year had an average of $60.69.

The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program averaged $89.66.

For the single aged adult living alone under Tennessee's Old Age Assistance program, a standard of $92 is set. Tennessee is able to pay 98 per cent of its standard, $90, which is the highest absolute amount actually paid in Region IV. For the OAA case of an elderly couple living alone with both eligible, a standard is set by the state of $129. The state maximum payment for this case is $180. For a family of four, the standard is set at $198. Of this, the state of Tennessee is able to pay $120. A maximum, regardless of family size and need, is set at $150. In both the specific cases given and in the overall maximum, Tennessee provides more welfare than does Alabama, Mississippi, or South Carolina. In the past year, the median average amount actually paid in the poor counties per case per month to OAA recipients was $61.01. For Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients, the median average was $98.40.

According to the latest HEW data, Kentucky sets a standard of $79 for an elderly woman living alone in rented rural quarters and $94 for the same recipient when living in urban quarters under Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled. For a woman living alone with three children ages 15, 11, and 5, respectively, in rented rural quarters, Aid to Families with Dependent Children sets a standard of $173. The same case in urban quarters has a standard of $189. Of these standards, the AFDC program is able to provide $150 and $162, respectively.

For the single adult living alone, Mississippi sets the standard of living at $101.32. Of this standard, the state is able to provide $50. This is approximately 49%. The situation for the elderly couple is a little better. Mississippi sets the standard at $151.35. Of this, it is able to provide a maximum of $100 or 66 per cent of the standard. For the mother and three children in the Mississippi Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, the state set the standard of living at $194.09, and of this standard, it is able to pay a maximum of $50 -- 26 per cent of the standard. The state maximum for any family on AFDC is $90.

THE TWIN FAILURE: LITTLE HELP, LOW STANDARDS

Not only is the total amount of public assistance expended inadequate for need, but the public assistance standards of living are also inadequate. -- The standards for an aged adult living alone in rented urban quarters range from South Carolina's,$77.55, to Alabama's $124.85. Texas sets a standard of $82.00; Arkansas, $83.00; Georgia, $87.25; Tennessee, $92.00; North Carolina, $94.00; Kentucky, $94.00; Mississippi, $101.32; Virginia, $115.00; and Louisiana, $123.00. This amounts to a range of annual income for the single aged adult of from $930 to $1,476.

According to the latest available figures, for the elderly couple living alone in rented quarters with both eligible, the range is from that of South Carolina, $102 to that of Alabama, $199.30. North Carolina sets a standard of $117; Tennessee, $129; Kentucky, $134; Texas, $138; Georgia, $141; Arkansas, $144; Virginia, $149; Mississippi, $151.35; and Louisiana, $191. These standards amount to a range of annual income of from $1,224 to $2,391.60.

Data on the specific states' standards for Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients' was unavailable. These standards are usually, however, only $5 to $10 higher than the standards of the Old Age Assistance recipients.

For the Aid to Families with Dependent Children case of a woman with three children, one between the ages of 2 and 6, one between the ages of 7 and 12, and one between the ages of

13 and 18, standards of living range from that of Arkandas at $124 to that of Tennessee at $198. North Carolina sets a standard of $144; Texas, $153.95; South Carolina, $155.80; Louisiana, $164.75; Alabama, $177; Kentucky, $189; Mississippi, $194.09; Virginia, $195; and Georgia, $197.60. These standards amount to a range of annual income from $1,488 to $2,376.

State welfare standards of living are the states' judgments as to what constitutes poverty. These are standards up to which each state attempts to bring all of its residents. Insofar as the standards are levels to which all persons will hopefully rise, they are ideals. Of great significance is that no state seen here has established $3,000 as the level of poverty - the level set by the federal government - and many have established it much lower.

EIGHT WAYS TO EXCLUDE THE NEEDY AND KEEP WELFARE ROLLS LEAN

The qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare work to restrict the number of recipients rathern than to reach those in need. -- An examination of various qualifications necessary for the receipt of welfare by category by states shows this structured self-restrictipn:

a. Age limitations - While generally set up to prevent the overlapping of welfare programs, the age limitations placed upon recipients in some of the states deny aid to the needy. All of the states investigated require a minimum age of 65 years to qualify for Old Age Assistance. Recipients of Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled must be over 18 and under 65. Kentucky, which places all of its adult programs in one category, Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled, has no upper limit. It must be assumed that at the age of 65, Kentucky recipients are reclassified with no change to their benefits. The state of Tennessee changes the upper limit from 65 to 66, i.e., recipients are eligible through their 65th year. Six of the states investigated (Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) make no provisionsfor the age of Aid to the Blind recipients. Three states, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia, limit recipients to those who are 16 or over. Mississippi makes no provisions for age but requires that recipients under the age of 18 be attending either a school for the blind or a public school if the child is capable of attendance. Texas limited its Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or older. The 16

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and 18 year age limitation seems at first to be of little importance since these might be thought to qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The blind do not, however, qualify for AFDC. Children under the ages of 16 and 18 must be cared for entirely by their parents and/or family. The states apparently feel that a blindchild is no more trouble to care for than is a perfectly normal one. Children are assumed only to become problems when they turn 17 or 19. Texas' limitation of Aid to the Blind recipients to 21 years of age or over is one of the most stringent of all of the welfare qualifications.

Six states; Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee, limited recipients to under 16 years or if in school under 18 years. Georgia and Texas limited their recipients to those under 16 years of age. It would seem from the example of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia, that the 18 year requirement is set to correspond with graduation from high school. After this time presumably the child is prepared for independence from parental supervision. If this age limit is made to correspond with the completion of high school, Georgia and Texas effectively discourage individuals from completing high school.

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b. Citizenship limitations - Of the 11 states' 44 programs investigated, five programs require a welfare recipient to be a citizen of the United States. South Carolina requires its Old Age Assistance recipients to be citizens. Texas requires citizenship of its Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. The southern areas of Texas use vast numbers of seasonal agricultural laborers. Many of these laborers are Mexican-Americans. Without the welfare citizenship requirement, Texas apparently assumes that needy laborers, the majority of them, would flood the assistance rolls. Texas overlooks the fact that only a small number of these workers would have to receive assistance if adequately paid for their labor.

c. *Residency limitations* - *Residency requirements effect, in all likelihood, the most severe restriction of the needy from aid*. Only five of the 44 programs have no residency requirements. South Carolina makes no provision for residency for Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients. Kentucky requires merely that welfare recipients in the Aid to the Aged, Blind and Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs be living in the state at the time of application. Six states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, require that the recipient have spent continuously one year immediately preceding application in the state. This is commonly known as the one-year durational residency requirement. Georgia requires durational residency of one year. This year may, however, have been spent up to one year before the application was made. Old Age Assistance recipients in Arkansas must meet the one year durational residency requirement as well as the requirement of having lived for three of the last five or five of the last nine years preceding application in the state. Texas and Louisiana allow the recipient no choice. For Old Age Assistance, the recipient must have lived the duration of the year immediately preceding application in the state as well as a total of five of the last nine years immediately preceding the application.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Blind programs are a little less stringent. (Kentucky and Mississippi merely require the recipient to be in the state at the time of application. Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee have the one-year durational requirement. South Carolina requires the one-year durational residency or the recipient must have been made blind while in the state and must have been in the state when the bill concerning residency was passed. Arkansas' requirement concerning AB residency is similar to its Old Age Assistance requirement, i.e., the recipient must have spent in the state either three or the last five years, or five of the last nine years, as well as continuously the year immediately preceding application. The AB recipient may also meet the requirement if he lost his sight while in the state. Louisiana also has the stipulation that an individual who lost his eyesight while in the state may be considered as meeting the residency requirement. Otherwise, the Louisiana recipient has to have spent five of the last nine years in the state as well as having continuously spent the year immediately preceding application in the state.

Texas makes no stipulation about having lost eyesight in the state. In order to receive Aid to the Blind in Texas, the recipient must have lived for five or the last nine years in the state as well as continuously the year preceding application. None of the residency requirements reveal more clearly attempts to exclude the needy than in the residency requirements for AB.

Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana almost say that they will take care of their own or those who happen to become blind in the state, but that any other needy blind are not welcome and will not receive aid. South Carolina's Aid to the Blind residency requirement borders on the absurd. The AB recipient must have met the one-year durational requirement or he must have lost his sight while in the state and have been in the state at the time the bill was passed. Apparently South Carolina feels that individuals would go to the extreme of putting out their eyes in order to receive AB, which in South Carolina is approximately $75 per month.

Residency requirements for the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled program do little to weaken the feeling that the needy are unwelcome. While South Carolina has no residency provision for the disabled, Kentucky requires that the applicant only be in the state at the time of application. Five states, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, have the one-year durational requirement immediately preceding application. Georgia has the one-year durational residency not necessarily immediately preceding application. Arkansas has its three of the last five, or five of the last nine years requirement as well as the one-year durational requirement.

Most states' Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs require that either the child or the parent of the dependent child meet the one-year durational residency. Many allow this requirement to be fulfilled by a near relative with whom the child is living if the parent is not living with the child. Alabama and Louisiana allow payments to mothers of unborn children if the mother meets the one-year durational residency requirement. Two other states, Georgia and Kentucky, make no durational residency requirement upon AFDC applicants. AFDC residency requirements are fairly uniform.

d. *Definitional limitations - Limitation of the number of qualified applicants for welfare is extremely varied, ranging from tight to extremely stringent*. Limitation by definition does not occur in Old Age Assistance, since all persons 65 and over are eligible. More than minimal limitation does not occur in Aid to the Blind. Most states define blindness as having visual acuity of no better than 20/200 in the better eye with correcting glasses. A field defect in which the widest diameter of visual field subtends at an angular distance no greater than 20 degrees may also meet the definition of blindness in a few states.

The limitation of recipients of Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled by definitions is in several states extreme. Mississippi's limitation is not so much in definition as in the proof of the disability. HEW Public Assistance Report #50 says that Mississippi defines a disability as, "Physical or mental impairment, or a combination of impairment, which is expected to continue and which subsequently prevents [the recipient] from engaging in useful work that is within his competency and that exists in community in which he lives. Permanent and total disability must both *exist and must be determined by substantiated medical findings together with complete and specific social information on the patient*." (Italics added).[11] Mississippi is the only state investigated which requires "complete and specific social information" on a patient with a physical disability. Texas does not require the social information but sets the definition of the actual disability so tightly that only those who should have the type of care found only in a nursing home can qualify. Report #50 shows Texas' definition of a permanent and total disability as being a "physical or mental impairment, disease, or loss which is irreversible or progressive and not amenable to ordinary treatment; renders the person completely invalid so that he is helpless or is bedfast, chairfast, or requires considerable help in locomotion from others; and impairment renders him unfeasible for vocational rehabilitation."[12] Limitation by definition in Aid to Families with Dependent Children is also varied. One of the areas of limitation is in determining when a child is deprived of parental support. Most states merely require continued absence from the home. Apparently this is not for any specified number of days. In Louisiana, however, the parent must be away for at least 90 days before the child can be considered as non-supported. In Mississippi, "absence due to desertion or non-support must have existed for six months unless under specified conditions affecting the absent parent."[13] In these states, the family must manage to survive for three or six months before the departments will consider their need.

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[11] Characteristics of State Public Assistance Plans Under the Social Security Act," Public Assistance Report No. 50, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 1964 edition, p. 58.

Individual states' definitions of non-support are varied. Many states say that not only must the father have deserted the family, but that there must be no individual who can act as a substitute for the father, particularly in regard to support. This stipulation, known as the "man-in-the-house ruling," is often extended locally to cover almost any male acquaintance of the mother. Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, all require that the child be living in a suitable home. That which is suitable is that which meets state standards of care and health. This requirement seems, unfortunately, to also be characteristic of the South's concept of public welfare. It sets up a state standard of what constitutes suitable health and care and ignores the fact that it is precisely those who are most extremely deprived whose home will be the most likely not to measure up to the standard. Theoretically, then, such regulations could produce a situation in which a child or family with some financial ability is eligible for aid, but make ineligible for aid a family who is totally destitute.

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[12] Ibid., p. 98.

[13] Ibid., p. 58.

e. Need limitations - No state allows the highest possible amount exempt from personal income as allowed in the Social Security Act by Amendments of 1965. Many allow little more than that which is mandatory. The Social Security Act allows states to disregard as much as $5 of any income and of the first $80 additional earned income no more than $20, plus one-half of the remainder, in determining need for Old Age Assistance recipients. Of the states investigated, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, disregard no income for OAA recipients. Virginia disregards a flat $10 per month of earned income. Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Louisiana disregard, of the first $50 of earned income, the first $10 plus one-half of the remainder. (Public Assistance Report #50 is dated 1964. Since this time, state allowances may have been changed.) Of the total amount which the states may disregard for Aid to the Blind recipients in all of thesstates investigated, only that amount which was mandatory is disregarded, i.e., the first $85 of earned income plus one-half of the earned income in excess of the first $85. Income which may be disregarded is that which the individual may need for a plan for achieving self support approved by the state agency. In the Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled programs, states may disregard no more than $20 of the first $80 or earned income and up to one-half of the remainder of the first $80 earned income. States may also disregard income during the time in which the individual is undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia allow no disregard of income. Texas states that, "consideration must be given to income from legally responsible relatives who are financially able to support."[14] No state actually disregards any income of the APTD recipients. The Social Security Act also allows the state to disregard up to $50 of earned income for each child under 18 years of age in Aid to Families with Dependent Children up to $150 per household and no more than $5 of any other income. Only North Carolina and South Carolina allow any income to be disregarded in AFDC.

f. Property and income limitations - Property and

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

income limitations on recipients vary greatly throughout the states investigated. The items limited and the strictness of limitations vary. Generally, however, recipients of all programs in all states are limited severely as to the amount of property they are allowed to have in order to qualify for assistance. Louisiana limits Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Blind recipients to a total value of property of $1,500 for an individual and $2,500 for a couple. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients' property value, excluding that used as a home, is limited to $400 if the recipient has no dependents, $600 if he has one dependent, and $800 if he has two or more dependents. Virginia's limitations in this area are restrictive. HEW Report #50 states the following as being Virginia's regulations concerning this limitation. "There are no statutory limits on the value of real property owned and occupied as home. Other real property, if non-productive, must be liquidated if possible. Sale value of income-producing personal property, if non-productive, is considered a resource. Cash assets may not exceed $300 for each assistance unit, including cash surrender value on insurance with face value in excess of $1,000. Recipients may own household equipment and furniture, but the ownership of non-essential automobile disqualifies. The recipient cannot have signed or transferred property within *five* years immediately preceding application in order to qualify.[15]

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[15] *Ibid*., p. 106.

(Emphasis added.) This same requirement is held for applicants of Aid to the Blind. The provision concerning transfer or assignment of property prior to application is excluded in APTD and AFDC.

Discouragement from applying is clearly seen in Old Age Assistance, for income-producing but non-productive property includes tools and machinery acquired by the skilled worker or artisan who is unable temporarily to use them. The provision concerning the assignment or transferral of property aimed directly at eliminating those persons with significant financial resources can also easily eliminate persons who have owned property which they were unable to use but which disqualified them for assistance.

North Carolina includes in its limitations "savings, cash value of insurance, bonds, and other cash reserves, or real property not used as a home."[16] All of this is limited to $500. Included are machinery and buildings which the individual or family might own, such as a sewing machine, wheelbarrow, shed, or washing machine. Poverty must be extensive to be even considered for aid in this Old Age Assistance program. In the Aid to the Blind program, the home and income producing property may be kept. All other real property that is not income producing, however, must be liquidated within a year or "proved to be unsaleable."[17]

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[16] Ibid., p. 76.

[17] Ibid., p. 76.

The $500 limit for the individual is still applicable though real property other than the home is not included in the figuring of the reserves.

South Carolina's property limitations are also rather strict. Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled recipients may own a home. "Other real property is considered in determining eligibility in each individual case. Personal property is limited to $500 for an individual plus $300 for the spouse. If neither has savings, the other may retain savings up to $800 for use by both as a burial fund, which may not be used for current living expenses. Each dependent group may retain insurance with face value of $1,000 regardless of loan or surrender value. If insurance is more than $1,000 face value, loan or surrender value may not exceed $750. A combination of insurance loan value and cash savings may not exceed the amount allowed for savings. Applicants may not have transferred property in order to qualify." Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same property limitations except that the applicant is limited to a total savings for dependent group of $800 which may not be used for living expenses.

Texas' Old Age Assistance recipients may own a homestead, defined as both a home and a small amount of land, and have less than $1,500 (for a couple, $2,500) of non-income producing property. No individual may have transferred property to become eligible for welfare. These requirements also apply to Aid to the Blind recipients. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled and Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients are limited to 50 acres in their homestead; the homestead must also provide shelter.

The tone of Alabama welfare is evident in its Old Age Assistance program property limitations. A single recipient or couple is limited to a home value of $2,500 or less, and may retain a reserve of other property, real or personal, worth up to $1,000. The recipient or recipients may not in the past year have disposed of a homestead valued at more than $2,500 in order to become eligible for welfare. If the applicant is found to have disposed of a homestead within this time and is denied welfare because of this, he is ineligible for consideration for welfare for one year from the date of refusal of welfare unless "destitute and a community problem."[18] (Emphasis Added.) Similar limitations are placed upon Aid to the Blind recipients although they have home property disregarded and may have other real property valued at up to $5,000 and other reserves up to $1,200. Alabama's Aid to Families with Dependent Children property limitations are the same as the OAA ones.

Arkansas' major limitation placed upon property is that the home property is "limited to a market value of from

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

$4,500 to $6,500 depending upon location."[19] When the price per acre of land and the price of even the most simple houses, particularly in urban areas, are taken into consideration, this requirement is not as lenient as it may seem. Georgia recipients of Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled have the value of home property disregarded. Other real and personal property is limited to $800. An automobile of a value over $1,000 disqualifies the applicant. If the applicant has transferred property within the past two years, he is considered ineligible for the period of time which the property income would have taken care of his need. Aid to Families with Dependent Children recipients have the same limitations except that property transferral limitation is lifted. Tennessee's property limitations are similar to those discussed although recipients are allowed a home property of a value of $5,000, if the property is unencumbered, and $7,000 if the property is encumbered. The owner's equity may not exceed $5,000. Kentucky disregards home property value and limits other income to $500 and a burial fund of not more than $1,000 or a cash surrender of a life insurance policy of not more than $1,000. Mississippi limits property to a home valued at $2,500 if owned by an individual, or $5,000 if owned by a group, less encumbrances. Other real property and personal property is limited to $500 for the individual and $800 for a person with dependents. Essentially, the same limitations exist for AFDC recipients.

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[19] Ibid., p. 14.

g. Other limitations - Other restrictions which are placed on the recipients of welfare are generally few but are among the most onerous of those existing in welfare. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas all have some requirement which forces parents or relatives responsible for a child or children to accept "suitable work" if the work is available. "Work" in the various states differs. No state, however, draws distinct lines between what is and is not suitable. Mississippi states that the parent must accept employment if physically able and work is available, under certain specified conditions. While these conditions usually pertain to the care of children while the parent is at work, the work which the parent must accept is not specified. Here a tremendous amount of ambiguity exists and in the past has been a point of much discriminatory treatment. What white welfare workers regard as "suitable" work for Negroes may well be regarded as unsuitable for whites, for example, chopping cotton, twelve hours a day at the accepted pay rate of $3.00 a day. Work which the parent is able to do may be more expensive in terms of energy and time than it can be possibly worth to his family. The expense is often not taken into account.

One curious limitation which is placed on North Carolina Aid to the Blind recipients is that the applicant may not be *soliciting alms* at the time of his application for aid. If he is, he is declared ineligible.

Restriction of the number of welfare recipients does not come entirely from welfare regulations. Some states have laws which are less easy to uncover, but often more effective restrictions. Mississippi, for example, now requires the fine or imprisonment of up to 90 days of the parent of a second illegitimate child. Subsequent conviction carries a fine of up to $500 and imprisonment of up to six months. A similar Louisiana law sets the fine at up to $1,000, and imprisonment at up to one year. (Miss. Code Ann., Title II, §2018.6; La. Code Ann. 14:81, §79.2.) The relation here to welfare, of course, is indirect, but nonetheless real. A mother seeking aid for her dependent child must state the father's name. Where the child is illegitimate, she is making herself liable for imprisonment by telling the truth, as required by law.

h. *Recoveries, liens, and assignment limitations* - *The recovery of aid, while existing in only four of the states investigated, in three of these states are so set up as to discourage any needy person from applying for welfare.* Tennessee states that "payments made to an abandoned or deserted wife or dependent child shall be recoverable against the husband or parent as a debt due the state."[20] While a provision such as this is defensible on the grounds that a family is the responsibility of parents, the much more extensive provisions of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia re not. North Carolina makes a provision for the recovery after death of all assistance given through Old Age Assistance. HEW Report #50 states that "receipt of assistance after October 1, 1951, creates a general lien on real property owned by recipient and a claim against him and his estate. May not be satisfied while property is occupied as homesite by recipient, surviving spouse, minor dependent child, or dependent adult child, if such person is incapable of self-support because of total mental or physical disability. Recoveries are mandatory."[21] (Emphasis added.) South Carolina also makes a provision for the recovery of OAA. Recovery is, however, not mandatory. Report #50 states that the "total amount of assistance paid subsequent to July 1, 1956, (is) allowed as unsecured claim against estate on death of recipient. No recovery is made on real property used by dependent relatives nor when gross market value of estate is less than $500."[22] Virginia, while making no provisions for the recovery of aid given through Aid to Families with Dependent Children, makes stron provisions for Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Report #50 states that "total assistance paid constitutes claim against estate upon death of recipient prior to all other claims except prior liens, funeral expenses not in excess of $200 and hospital bills, doctors' bills, and medical expenses not in excess of $150. Not enforced against real estate occupied by the surviving spouse, if remains unmarried, or dependent child. Provisions for requiring deed of trust or for filing notice or receipt of assistance creating lien against real property of recipient but no deed of trust or lien enforced while recipient is eligible for assistance unless the real property is disposed of."[23] Provisions for aid given through Aid to the Blind are the same except that no deed of trust is required.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

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[21] _Ibid._, p. 77

[22] _Ibid._, p. 93.

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[23] *Ibid*., p. 107.

CONCLUSION

Public assistance is lacking in areas in which it is most desperately needed. It is lacking, in large part,[24] because it is so structured as to be self-restricting, to expend exactly enough to sooth the consciences of those with comfortable standards of living and no more.

This self-restricting nature of public welfare is not due to discriminatory administration which is widespread in many states. Discriminatory administration only redoubles the faults of an already impotent structure. What produced such a structure is a concept of welfare at once sentimental and condescending. The poor must be taken care of, that concept says, but they must never be allowed to forget that they are poor and that they exist entirely on public sufferance. Exponents of welfare reform argue that a comprehensive program must include, in addition to adequate monetary payments, a rethinking of approach to the problems of people who make up our welfare rolls. In any such a rethinking the place of the aged, for example, in a modern technical society would have to be examined and evaluated and, in all likelihood, the modern technical society would have to loosen its joints a little to accommodate humanity. The blind and the disabled would have many more and much more comprehensive training and rehabilitation centers, and society would have to strike its prejudices and admit that the blind and disabled are often less blind and more able than the physically normal person. Desertion and illegitimacy would have to be recognized as facts of life and adequate provisions made for the care of the dependent.

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[24] While it is true that some states are unable to provide the funds necessary for the public assistance standards which they set, this lack is by no means *the* cause of inadequate welfare payments, since the majority of the states' welfare aid is of federal origin. (See Table 3.)

Most important, men would have to realize, emotionally as well as intellectually, that no individual is ever or can be completely responsible for his social situation.

10.24.67
K.M.

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
5 FORSYTH STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Accepts with pleasure
the kind invitation
of
Harcourt, Brace and World
to be present for cocktails
in honor of
Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn
on Monday, the sixth of November
from five to seven o'clock
The Atlanta Press Club
Atop Diplomat Restaurant
Atlanta

To Whom it May Concern:

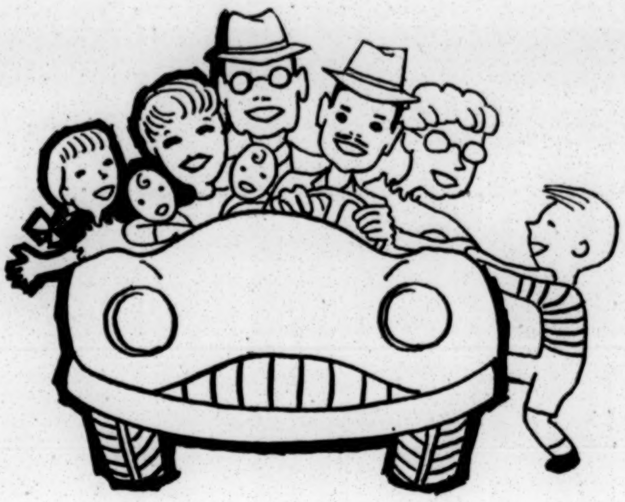
For several years the Southern Regional Council has cooperated with Friendly World Broadcasting in preparing materials for use in the South. During the past year we have given modest financial support to assist in the development of the program series, "A Yankee in the Heart of Dixie."

We feel the work of FWB generally has been very helpful. The experimental program series was a success. The number of stations in Alabama and Georgia willing to carry the series exceeded our expectations. While we have no way of evaluating the impact of the series, the programs were interesting and of high professional quality.

Radio continues to be a significant factor in education and entertainment in the South. In the region, too, the program content of most radio stations is of dismally poor quality. Certainly with these factors in mind, there is a valuable role for Friendly World Broadcasting.

Our experience with Mr. Randall and his work leads us to hope that adequate financial support can be found to continue and expand this work. From the standpoint of our own program interests, we would hope considerable attention could be given to race relations in the Deep South since, from the experiment cited above, we are convinced the service makes a real contribution.

to all employees:



ARE YOU
UP TO DATE
ON YOUR
withholding EXEMPTIONS?

EVERY PAYDAY, your employer uses your Withholding Exemption Certificate (Form W–4) to determine how much **FEDERAL** income tax to deduct from your pay.

Therefore, it is important that this certificate be accurate and up to date at all times. If your present certificate is correct, let it stand. If, however, it is in error, either because your exemptions have changed, or for other reasons, get a new certificate (Form W–4) from your employer, fill it out, and return it to your employer. If the change affects this year's tax, give him the certificate immediately. If the change affects next year's tax, give him the certificate by December 1 and tell him it is to be used next year.

Usually your exemptions change when you get married or divorced, when a dependent is born or dies, or when you begin or stop supporting a dependent.

Be careful to avoid claiming any exemption that the law does not allow. Any taxpayer who knowingly claims a false exemption is subject to prosecution.

If you expect to owe more income tax for the year than will be withheld if you claim every exemption to which you are entitled, you may increase the withholding by claiming a smaller number of exemptions or you may enter into an agreement with your employer to have additional amounts withheld.

If you have more than one employer, you should increase your withholding to an amount nearer your correct income tax by claiming a smaller number or no exemptions on each Form W–4 filed with all employers other than your principal employer.

For forms and further information, consult your employer or consult any Internal Revenue Service office.

Mortimer M. Caplin
Commissioner of Internal Revenue

EMPLOYERS.—Please indicate to your employees, in the space provided below, the place or places in your establishment

WHERE FORMS AND INFORMATION ON THIS SUBJECT ARE AVAILABLE.

RHA's Office

BULLETIN BOARD POSTER: **Please post this notice where your employees will see it.**

U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Publication No. 213
(Revised July 1962)

FOREWORD

A while ago James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, wrote out some thoughts regarding the Centennial of the Civil War, now being observed throughout the country under the auspices of the national and state governments. He shared these with a few of his colleagues. Mr. Dabbs' letter, full of concern that the Civil War is still today and intellectual and psychological problem for Southerners, and the thoughtful responses which it elicited from his fellow members of the Council, make up this publication.

The Centennial may or may not have been a wise venture for a nation again in the throes of a grest struggle over human rights. It may or may not have been soundly planned and conceived. We nevertheless have it with us. Having it, there is need, we think, for some voices from the South to speak calmly, and with awareness that it must not longer be a stumbling block to national unity.

The Civil War is and has been a deep emotional problem peculiarly for white Southerners. For this reason, all but one of the contributions to this pamphlet are by white men. The concluding piece, by a distinguished Negro Southerner, is in a sense a response, written with charity and a clear vision of the national purpose, from one of the peoples of the South to the other.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Mr. Oscar J. Lee
National Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

It was a real pleasure to be with you and Al Kramer in the meeting up at Greenwich. I hope that in some small way I contributed to the success of the meeting.

I am enclosing an expense account for the money we expended. Please make the check out to Southern Regional Council and send it to our Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander.

With best regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:rh
Encl.

Rev. Leon M. Adkins, General Secretary
The General Board of Education
The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Materials mailed separately:

Special Report, Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision, 1957
The Churches Speak, United Church Women
Out of Conviction, ministers statement
Why Are You Fearful? Fellowship of the Concerned
December, 1958 issue New South
Workbook, United Church Women, Georgia - 1959

VOTING

Texas:

Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536 - 1927

Nixon v. Condon, 286 U.S. 73 - 1932

Grovey v. Townsend, 295 U.S. 45 - 1935

Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649 - 1944

These four cases are the Texas White Primary Cases; all except Grovey v. Townsend were decided against the State and for the Negro plaintiff. Smith v. Allwright was the final and decisive case outlawing the white primary. Its ruling was applied to several other Southern states in the following cases (among others):

Chapman v. King (Primus King case - Georgia, 1946 - decided by Circuit Court of Appeals)

Elmore v. Rice, 72FSupp 516 - 1947 (Judge Waring's decision in South Carolina)

Davis v. Schnell 81 FSupp 872 - 1949 (voided the Boswell amendment in Alabama)

Terry v. Adams 345 US 461 - 1952 (Supreme Court struck down Texas Jaybird primaries)

HOUSING

Buchanan v. Warley 245 US 60 - 1917 (Louisville zoning ordinance case)

Shelley v. Kraemer 334 US 1 - 1948

Hurd v. Hodge 334 US 24 - 1948

These two are the restrictive covenant cases; the first forbids state courts, the second forbids federal courts, to enforce restrictive covenants.

Barrows v. Jackson 346 US 249 - 1953 (another restrictive covenant case)

PEONAGE

Taylor v. Georgia 315 US 25 - 1942

Pollock v. Williams 322 US 4 - 1944 (a Florida case)

TRANSPORTATION

Mitchell v. U.S. 313 US 80 - 1941 (required equal Pullman facilities)

Morgan v. Virginia 328 US 373 - 1946 (forbade states to require segregation on interstate carriers)

Henderson v. U.S. 339 US 816 - 1950 (forbade railroads from segregating dining cars)

N.A.A.C.P. v. St. Louis-San Francisco Ry. Co. I.C.C., 31423 - 1955

Sarah Keys v. Carolina Coach Co. I.C.C., M.C.-c-1564 - 1955

These two decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission are now the leading statements of law. The I.C.C. forbade the carriers from segregating interstate passengers in travel or in waiting rooms.

Flemming v. South Carolina Electric and Gas Co. 224 F 2d 752 - 1955 (Columbia bus segregation case; Supreme Court refused to hear appeal 351 US 901 - 1956 and this Circuit Court case remains the leading case)

Gayle v. Browder 352 US 903 - 1956 (Montgomery bus case)

Evers v. Dwyer US - 1958 (Memphis bus case)

Public Facilities

Rice v. Arnold 340 US 848 - 1950 (municipal golf course in Florida)

Muir v. Louisville Park Theatrical Ass'n. 347 US 971 - 1954 (Louisville Parks)

Baltimore v. Dawson 350 US 877 - 1955 (golf courses)

Holmes v. City of Atlanta 350 US 879 - 1955 (golf courses)

Other cases in lower courts have opened parks, gold courses and beaches in Georgia, Texas, Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Florida to Negroes.

Press Intelligence, Inc.
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.

Reading File

LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

Circ.: e. 80,126
S. 91,939

Front Page
Edit Page
Other Page

Date:

Problem of Integration.

Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People informed the Mississippi chapters that desegregation "has been successful wherever it has been tried."

In sharp contrast was a statement made by Supt. Hobart M. Corning of the District of Columbia integrated system, when school officials asked Congress to grant funds to hire 180 additional teachers.

He described integration as "a whale of an undertaking," and he said "the job can't be accomplished without damage to the children unless the schools are adequately staffed."

Standard achievement tests given in the Washington schools, in the integrated schools of Texas, and in segregated schools elsewhere, revealed that Negro students scholastically were behind whites of the same age groups.

However, Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, sociology professor at Arkansas A., M. and N., in the May issue of "New South," a publication of the Southern Regional Council, insisted that the gap in attainment and preparation isn't as big as the Washington and Texas scores indicate.

He asked whether white and Negro groups took the tests under identical conditions. Did Negro or white teachers supervise the testing? Had the Negroes as much experience as whites in taking the tests? Did the Negreos and whites have different attitudes toward making a good score?

We can't answer for those schools, but we can cite Little Rock public school achievement tests which were administered by teachers to their own students in Negro and white schools.

These tests were standard, too. In the first six grades Negro pupils didn't come up to the national average; whites at each grade level either reached the national average or went beyond.

Dr. Cothran believes most Negro children would need only one or two semesters of work, with emphasis on English and study habits, in order to adjust to an integrated system. Then is Washington a typical?

Segregation was abandoned there September, 1954, and still they wrestle with the problem of maintaining standards.

Mr. Frank McCallister
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for clip. I always hold my breath when I get interviewed; you can never tell how the reporter will do. This guy did nicely, and I am grateful.

Nice to see you and the family. Come to see us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Mr. B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brazeal:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council met in Atlanta April 20-21. They had two vacancies on the Executive Committee, and chose for their new members yourself and a Methodist parson at Alexander City, Alabama, named Duncan Hunter.

We all greatly hope that you will be willing to serve. The Executive Committee meets every three months. It is the creature of the Board of Directors, but the Board of Directors only meets once a year, and the Executive Committee pretty well runs the show.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by GSM/signed in his absence.

Encl: List of Exec. Com.
cc: GSA List of Bd. Members.

Mr. Myles Horton
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Dear Myles:

I approve as temporary staff members those listed in your memo of May 4th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Suggested names of persons who should have and might send field reports on The Church and Desegregation:

Congregational Christian Churches:

Dr. Herman H. Long
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Miss Dorothy Hampton
1530 Bennsham Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Long, in the past year, has made a report on this subject to the General Council of C. C. churches. Miss Hampton is a field representative working in North Carolina and Virginia and will know about integrated summer camps, and her job is to work with the churches toward integration.

Baptists: Dr. A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tenn.

Catholics: Catholic Committee of the South
P. O. Box 895
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Disciples of Christ: Rev. Lewis Deer, Nat'l Director
Social Education and Inter-Cultural Relations
Disciples of Christ
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Episcopal: The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee (Division of Christian Citizenship)
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Lutheran: The Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America
Rev. Harold C. Letts, Secretary for Social Action
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Nat'l Council of Churches: Dr. Will D. Campbell, Asso. Exec. Director
Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

Presbyterian: Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 5, Ga.

Unitarian: Rev. Galen Martin
Box 887
Knoxville, Tenn.

Rev. Tartt Bell, Exec. Secretary
Southeastern Regional Office, American Friends Service Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

Rev. E. J. Odom, Jr.
NAACP Church Secretary
20 West Fortieth St.
New York 18, N. Y.

BALLAD OF S. Rx. C.

(Or "Sick, Sick, Sick")

Lu's been laid up, Bev's been ill.
Ruth is on her millionth pill.
John has trouble with his gums.
Harold's always chewing Tums.
Les's elbow, Mildred's head,
Paul's bronchitis -- off to bed!
Montez, Bernice, Marge, Mrs. Tilly --
All get stove up, willy nilly.
Common ailments, ailments rare
-- That's the Blue Cross we have to bear.

People, Ghost Towns and Churches

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

The social revolution of rural America now upon us, touches every person in this nation and reaches out to the peoples of other countries, for it affects the very bread that is needed. This is evidenced by the number of farm bills introduced into Congress, the meeting of the wheat growing nations concerned about what the United States would do with its surpluses, the grave concern of the National Council of Churches and all denominational bodies over the plight of the farmers, the rural church and community.

The headlines in daily papers and weekly magazines, the titles of numerous pamphlets tell a story in themselves: "Look Out for Bigger Farm Surpluses Coming. Corn, Corn and More Corn," "The Wheat and Egg Folly," "American Farm Paradox, The Poverty of Abundance," "Big Operators Hit Soil Bank," "The Big Boys Make a Neat Nest Egg, Predicting Frozen Egg Movement," "And Finally the Farmer," "Dixie's Dilemna-Southerners Abandoning Farm Homes and Villages To Make Northward Trek," "Georgia To Tackle The Exodus of Youth," "Down on the Farm, The Plight of Agricultural Labor," and so on.

The problems of agriculture are complex and full of paradoxes. Our nation is dotted with great warehouses where the government stores up its bought-up surpluses of wheat and corn and lines its caves with eggs and butter and all the while there are hungry people the world over.

We know how to produce the abundance but have never learned *"How to pass the platter of plenty to all of our people."

President Eisenhower declared to the nation that the multi-billion dollar farm surpluses benefits go chiefly to only 10% of the farmers.

The soil bank and acreage quotas reduce production, but the extension service teaches the farmer to produce more on less acres. Again the more yield the farmer

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*From "People, Land and Churches," used by permission from the author, Dr. Rockwell C. Smith and the Friendship Press.

gets from his harvest, the less he earns from his labor and capital.

The changes that have come affect the South more largely than any other section. There is a fabulous story of the economic emancipation of the South, that reads like an Arabian Night tale. In 1860, 47% of its wealth was its slaves. In 1865 it lost almost 50% of its wealth and there was practically no industries in the section to supply income. Today the industrial output of the south runs into billions of dollars. Paradoxically, there are blighted areas with ghost towns and counties that have lost so greatly in population that they, too, are in danger of becoming ghosts of the past. There are about 1,000 counties in the nation that are in need of rehabilitation and the largest per cent of these are in the South. In some of these the only employed people, outside of farming, are in the court house and the court house people tell us no one ever comes to the county seat now, which used to be a county and community center, except those who come to serve on juries and to pay taxes.

The Sunday edition, July 12, of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution carried pictures of the little town of Newborn, Ga. The titles under the pictures were: "Newborn's Depot Is Filled With Hay, Weeds Grow In Front and Over Tracks"; "25-Foot Tree Inside--Grows in Abandon Store"; "Newborn Has Eight Store Buildings, Seven of Them Stand Vacant--Newborn Town's Situation Illustrates Plight of State's Small Counties." The pictures of Newborn, Ga. are the pictures of many a town in the South.

The ghost towns have come to be because of many things. The small farmer, suffering always from low income and not able to compete with corporate farm organizations, is lured to an industrial plant where wage and hour laws assure him of a far better income. He spends his money where it is earned for there he finds a better trading center. And the little stores back home have too few customers and at last become vacant. The farmer puts his farm into the soil bank program and adds $13.50 per acre to his pocket book and again he helps the ghost to stalk through his town for he needs to purchase no seed, no fertiliser, no farm machinery; and he has nothing to sell. And so, the fertilizer, feed and implement dealers, the ginners and warehouse men, and rural banks close house and leave.

State officials are frankly alarmed about the trend that points to poverty-ridden "ghost counties." Georgia Tech and state experts are planning workshops in the "scared counties."

Between 1954 and 1958, the number of self employed farmers decreased by 700,000. Most of them were younger farmers under the age of 45, says Hon. Richard Russell. The age of the farmer is alarmingly upward. This is serious. There must be young recruits to take up the task of growing food.

A study, made by the senior classes of five high schools in the rural county of Van Buren, Arkansas, covering the period 1952-56 revealed that out of the 482 graduates of this period 243 had left Arkansas.

Here and there workshops are being held on "How can rural counties keep their job-hungry young people from leaving home in search of greener economic pastures." Population losses in the South are partly due to the exodus of the youth.

It is estimated after the census taking of 1960, Arkansas will lose 2 representatives in Congress, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and North Carolina one less each. The loses are in rural counties that diminish the number of Congressional districts.

There also is the sad plight of the displaced farm laborer. In 1937, the days of the Depression, under the title of "You Have Seen Their Faces," Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke White gave us a book of portraits of the depressed of the depressed. Today, we are again "seeing their faces." Bishop J. W. E. Bowen of the Atlantic Coast area of the Central Jurisdiction, The Methodist Church, says the Negro farm hand, not needed any longer on the farm, is on "the way, to the first wayside station in the small nearby town, but finding no work, he goes on to the larger town and then to the city" but finds no job for his untrained mind and unskilled hands.

The Bishop says that from his office window, he looks out upon the building of the Great Expressway; (atlanta) lined on the side are Negro men, just standing and watching, hopelessly standing and watching. Not so long ago they would have had a job, wheel-barrowing the piled up dirt for the expressway but now one man directs a crane and a shovel--and the man is never a Negro man.

Their Mecca is Chicago, but worried city officials of that city are warning these prospective newcomers "they won't find a golden door."

We have seen the faces of white families on our highway too. The husband with all their worldly goods in his arms, his wife with the baby in her arms, and little children plodding along from "below Macon on the way to Atlanta," sleeping on the grass by the highway. We saw the family on Ponce de Leon Avenue, Atlanta, with rain pouring on them. The husband with their possessions all tied together with strings, the bare-footed wife carrying the hungry whimpering baby. They had trekked from Alabama on the way to Spartanburg where someone had told them there was a place they could "make a crop." What crop can be made from middle June to frost! And -- these stories are multiplied.

There is no official estimate of the number displaced by a piece of farm machinery but there is an unofficial estimate -- 4 million farm laborers are out of work, including the number of migrants who are apart of the unneeded help.

What of the church in these situations? It has never had an adequate program to meet the needs of the migrant. The white laborer on southern farms has been by-passed and never even seen by the church. The Negro has had an untrained preacher in a church with no connection to any denominational body. The National Council of Churches is urging a ministry that will reach all people.

When whole farms are put into the soil bank program a community is lost. The conservation program of the soil bank is making the countryside beautifully green with its planting of pine trees and grasses. Dotted here and there are the school houses but they are empty and the churches are there but you cannot say, "Here is the church and here is the steeple, open the door and here are the people" for the people are not there.

The Conferences of the Atlanta Episcopal area have been authorized to set up a commission to make a comprehensive study regarding population trends and sociological development as they relate to the church.

The churches of the South Carolina Conference of the Central Jurisdiction have done a splendid job in keeping communities intact. They have worked in cooperation with the county farm agent and Clemson College.

Studies have shown the leadership of the nation in Church, State and Business has come from men with rural backgrounds. Can the leadership for tomorrow be developed in congested areas of cities and amid the clanking of machinery of industrial plants?

It could be expected that shepherds watching their sheep on the hillsides could hear an angel chorus for their ears were attuned to listening. The priests in Bethlehem did not hear the message of "Peace on earth, goodwill to men."

Mrs. Felicia V. Sunderlal
Secretary for Women's Relations
The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mrs. Sunderlal:

Your letter of July 19, as remained unanswered because of my absence from the office.

The Georgia women are very interested in prison reform and are doing a splendid piece of work, therefore I am passing your letter on to Mrs. John Patton, 1745 W. Wesley Road, NW, president of the United Church Women of Georgia. I am sure you will hear from her relative to this very soon.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec
cc: Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. Childs White
209 Kathryn Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Nell:

Enclosed is the good Governor's letter. I'm glad that you, not I, have to defend him!

Also enclosed is a recently published pamphlet issued by a group of young Negro leaders here. Think you will find it interesting and hseful.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive ~~Director~~ Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1. (A66A pamphlet)

AIR MAIL AIR MAIL

Mr. & Mrs. Robert H. Moench
Mount Vernon Country Club
Route 3
Golden, Colorado

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Moench:

Thank you so much for your 1959 contribution to the work of the Council, and for the encouraging words that accompanied it.

It has been a good year for the Council, in many ways, though the gap between what is needed and what we can do still seems depressingly large. All of which makes your letter and gift the more welcome.

I am sorry for our lack of coordination in noting your address change; the necessary correction has been made.

More and more, we are impressed by the national scope of the problems with which we deal. It is not at all impossible that our lines of interest might one of these days reach to Colorado. If so, I will remember your offer to help.

With best regards and good wishes for 1960,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COPY

INTER OFFICE MEMO (File Code XX/112B)

TO: John Constable, Director of Information

FROM: Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant

RE: Name of new Executive Director of Friends Southeastern Office

Per your request for the following in writing:

WILTON HARTZLER

has replaced B. Tartt Bell as Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Office.

Copies to:

Secretary to the Director

Director of Research

New South subscription files

[✓ Reading file]

File file

MEMORANDUM

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Glenda Bartley

The following bibliographies list materials available to people teaching teachers who will be involved in varimus povwrty programs.

"The Tyranny of Poverty," Institute of Human Relations, The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

"Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts," Gershom Clark Morningstar, Editor, The University of Michigan, P. O. Box 1567, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Insight--A Bibliography on Intergroup Relations for Pennsylvania Schools," Jeanne E. Brooker, Editor, Department of Public Instruction, Box 911, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17126.

Two resource people who are extremely competent in the area of teaching teachers of (cultural-familial) mentally retarded children are:

Bobby Paulk
Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5
Tennessee

Ruth Walton
Sharondale Court
Nashville
Tennessee

Mr. Baulk will be able to provide you with names of people who might be helpful in setting up a program.

draft

Dear NEW SOUTH Subscriber:

You have received the first two copies of the new NEW SOUTH, which we feel is an important contribution to thinking and philosophy of the entire civil rights group.

Not too many years ago it was impossible to find out "what was going on" in the South except by following the NEW SOUTH. Today news coverage has improved but again NEW SOUTH is the only place that you can find out the why behind the changes of tactic, the thinking of both white and Negro leadership, and the philosophy of the new civil rights movement.

Your subscription has expired and we will be forced to discontinue this valuable service unless we hear from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

P.S.: If you have already renewed your subscription we apologize for being slightly behind in our filing.

THE SHAPING OF SOUTHERN PUBLIC OPINION

A Brief Outline of a Proposed Study

- : -

It is envisioned that this study will be issued in a minimum of five and perhaps as many as seven parts. It is likely that each part will be issued as a separate publication, following by the collection issued as a book. The two sponsoring agencies will share in the final editing of the material.

The purpose of the study is to look at the existence, role and influence of the various identifiable groups and forces in the region concerned to some important extent with race relations.

There follows, by chapter, a brief description of the study as we see it at this early stage.

Chapter I. The Role and Influence of the Predominately Negro Civil Rights Groups. -- This will be a careful analysis of all of the identifiable groups ranging from the Black Muslims to the NAACP. Special attention will be given to such movements as the Black Panther Party and MFDP. The "middle-class" organizations will be contrasted with the radical movements, and special attention will be given to the question of how any of these groups reach and influence the majority of the poor, urban and rural. The Southern Regional Council will conduct this study.

Chapter II. White Hate Groups. -- Much the same questions will be asked about these groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the American Nazi Party. Some greater emphasis will be given to questions of strength, membership, localities and the like. As with all segments of the inquiry, the major question will be, what influence do these groups have on public opinion? Robert Sherrill of Washington has agreed to conduct this study and will begin work shortly.

Chapter III. The Affluent Extremist. -- The same inquiry as outlined above will be conducted on this segment of the more affluent, better financed groups of the far right. These groups include the John Birch Society, Christian Crusade, Project Alert, Freedom Forums and similar groups. The American Jewish Committee will conduct this study.

Chapter IV. The Citizens Councils. -- This study may or may not become a separate publication, and chapter of the published material. After it is conducted, the information may be used in conjunction with Chapters II or III. We do feel, however, that there is an important story in the history of the growth, importance and decline of the influence of this group. Why did they grow? Why did they decline? Where have the members and leaders of these groups gone? Wilson Minor, journalist of Jackson, Mississippi (correspondent for the New Orleans Times-Picayune) has agreed to do this for us.

Chapter V. The Role of the Predominately "White Cause" Groups and Agencies. -- The major group in this inquiry is the churches, particularly the most active protestant denominations in the region. All have "social-action" arms, all have expressed commitment and concern. What is their influence, their methods and the scope of their involvement? Attention, too, will be given to the role of the other faiths, the activities of such agencies as the American Friends Service Committee, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Councils on Human Relations, and the two agencies sponsoring this study.

Labor unions may be included in this inquiry. Initial work on this is being done by the Southern Regional Council. A consultant may be sought to do the final study.

Chapter VI. The Southern Political Situation. -- All of the materials gathered for the other segments of this study will be used in this chapter. Included will be consideration of the influences on southern politics and politicians, their reactions, the role of the increasing Negro vote, and an analysis of the questionable emerging of the two-party system in the South. Having made an attempt to analyze the influences shaping public opinion in the region we will attempt to conclude with the resulting expressions and indications of that influence on the public leadership. No decisions will be made as to who will do this until some of the other research can be analyzed.

MEMO

TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FROM: EMORY VIA

I have the following background reports from the Congressional Quarterly Service for your use if of interest:

Housing a Nation

Federal Economic Policy, 1945-1965.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Marvin Wall

The states for which we have good figures are Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and Florida. These are states for which we have fairly current county-by-county figures, by race. In fact, the figures we have for all of these states are later than the figures on the county-by-county tables prepared by Mrs. Patterson. All things considered, I feel that these figures are reasonably accurate.

In the case of Alabama, we sent out more current figures along with our Alabama news release. In the case of Florida, figures have been published there by the secretary of state's office.

Louisiana currently is a weak spot. The registration deadline for the primary is July 13. Virginia is extremely foggy, since figures no longer are kept there by race. Texas also is strictly guesswork.

For several weeks I have been holding up the Texas table, since I have been told that the estimated Negro registration probably is on the high side. Stencils have been cut on Alabama and Mississippi, but they haven't been run.

The three states Mrs. Patterson didn't get to are North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. I have a line out to North Carolina. The Tennessee registration deadline is July 5, and maybe we can get something out of Nashville after that. I think the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which recently sent in a VEP proposal, can help us get figures for that state.

As you know, Southern states are becoming increasingly guarded about giving out registration figures by race. Such records generally are kept in the Deep South states, but elsewhere they aren't. With the exception of Florida, obtaining registration figures by race is no longer a matter of a letter of telephone call. I have bounced our Virginia, Arkansas and Texas figures off top newsmen and other informed sources in each of those states. I have been told that our Virginia and Arkansas figures are about right, whereas our Texas figure probably is a little high.

cc: Mr. Jordan
Mr. Olive
Mrs. Bartley
Mr. Adams
Mr. Watters

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS RELEASE CALL 577-2986 or 237-3939

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, will address the Hungry Club at 12:15 p. m. Wednesday, May 25, at the Butler Street YMCA.

Mr. Jordan's appearance at the Club will be co-sponsored by the All-Citizens Registration Committee. The public is invited.

Mr. Jordan is a graduate of the David T. Howard High School in Atlanta, DePauw University in Indiana, and Howard University's School of Law in Washington.

Born in Atlanta, Mr. Jordan has served as an attorney-consultant in the poverty program's Atlanta regional office and has practiced law in Arkansas. He also has served as Assistant to the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and as Georgia Field Director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Last February he was appointed by President Johnson to serve on the Council to the White House Conference, "To Filfill These Rights," which will be held in Washington, June 1-2.

He is a member of the American Bar Association and serves on the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, and the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Among Hungry Club's news-making speakers in recent months have seen Senator Herman Talmadge and Governor Carl Sanders.

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Arr. Atlanta — Friday July 9
Delta #622 — 3:24 p.m. meet her at airport

SRC -
Vine City - Al Ulmer before
Dinner -

Lv. Atlanta — July 9
Delta #449 — 11:00 a.m.
12:55 p.m. Brunswick

Lv. Brunswick
Overnite
Delta #424 — 1:25 p.m.

NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES

	1960*	1961-62**	1962-63***
ALABAMA	66,009	68,317	81,683
ARKANSAS	72,604	68,970	72,712
FLORIDA	183,197	182,456	199,753
GEORGIA (1958 SRC)	161,959	175,573	185,899
LOUISIANA	159,033	151,663	151,518
MISSISSIPPI	25,921	23,920	25,398
NORTH CAROLINA	210,450	210,450	215,938
SOUTH CAROLINA (SRC est.)	58,122	90,901	93,800
TENNESSEE (1958 SRC)	185,000	150,869	162,062
TEXAS (1958 SRC)	226,818	111,014	128,057
VIRGINIA	100,499	110,113	107,861
TOTALS	1,449,612	1,344,246	1,424,681

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* 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report: Voting (unless otherwise indicated); see attachment A for sources.

** 1962 report from SRC Voter Education Project; see attachment B for sources.

*** 1963 estimates prepared by SRC Voter Education Project; see attachment C for sources.

A

1960 Negro Voter Registration Sources:

1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report: Voting (unless otherwise indicated); voting age included

ALABAMA - *Birmingham News*, 9-18-60; voting age 21

ARKANSAS - Poll tax sales, 1959; voting age 21

FLORIDA - Based on official registration figures as of October 8, 1960, Secretary of State of Florida; voting age 21

(Note: statistics do not include 13,431 voters in State of Florida who are not registered in either Republican or Democratic Party, and are not broken down by race.)

LOUISIANA - Louisiana State Board of Registration, as of October 8, 1960; voting age, 21

MISSISSIPPI - 1959 Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; voting age 21

NORTH CAROLINA - North Carolina Advisory Committee; voting age 21

VIRGINIA - Official estimates of the registration of voters, does not include 11,014 voters not broken down by race; voting age 21

Southern Regional Council

GEORGIA - Secretary of State of Georgia; Georgia has discontinued reporting registration figures by race. Voting age, 18

SOUTH CAROLINA - Secretary of State, South Carolina; voting age, 21

TENNESSEE - Tennessee keeps no central records by race; estimate by SRC. Voting age, 21

TEXAS - SRC survey; no later count has been made. Voting age, Does not include 2,500 registered voters, who are not required to obtain poll tax receipts, and are not broken down by race.

B

Data Sources for Tables 4a. and 4b.

Population: 1960 U.S. Census Reports

Registration: Alabama - Compilation made by the Birmingham News, June 10, 1962, from various sources. Chilton County not included.

Arkansas - Report of Arkansas State Auditor, 1962

Florida - Report of Secretary of State, April 19, 1962

Georgia - Atlanta Journal, April 16, 1962

Louisiana - New Orleans Times Picayune, May 5, 1962

Mississippi - CRC Report, 1961 (69 of 82 counties)

North Carolina - North Carolina Advisory Committee, 1960

South Carolina - Negro: Report of South Carolina Progressive Democrats, April, 1962; White: Washington Post, July, 1961

Tennessee - CRC Report, 1961 (63 of 95 counties)

Texas - Compiled by Robert S. Calvert, Comptroller of Public Accounts; Racial breakdown estimated statistically by VEP

Virginia - Letter from Levin Nock Davis, Secretary, Virginia State Board of Elections, August 3, 1962

C

Data Sources for Tables I. and II.

Population: 1960 U. S. Census Reports

Registration: Alabama - Compilation made by the *Birmingham News*, June 10, 1962, from various sources. Chilton County not included.

Arkansas - Report of Arkansas State Auditor, 1962

Florida - Report of Secretary of State, Octoberr10, 1962

Georgia - *Atlanta Journal*, April 16, 1963

Louisiana - Louisiana Board of Registration, June 30, 1963

Mississippi - CRC Report, 1961 (69 of 82 counties)

North Carolina - North Carolina Advisory Committee, 1960

South Carolina - Negro: Report of South Carolina Progressive Democrats, April, 1962; White: *Washington Post*, July, 1961

Tennessee - CRC Report, 1961 (63 of 95 counties)

Texas - Compoled by Robert S. Calvert, Comptroller of Public Accounts; Racial breakdown estimated statistically by VEP

Virginia - Report of Secretary of State, April 23, 1963

VEP field reports from various states, 1962-63

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Anderson

FROM: Emory F. Via

Tommy tells me that it is easier to make an estimate on reprints from New South when the page proofs are ready. This way they will know what pages and how many lines are involved. He feels that cost will be nominal, if those pages are given an extra run at the time of the original printing.

Since I may be interested in reprints of the Munts article would you either let me know when those pages proofs come in or else have Tommy give you the estimate in case I am out of town.

Thanks.

hj

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 100 copies of "Know Your Rights" to Richard Miles in South Carolina.

Label attached.

Thank you

MEMO:

From: N.M.
To: B.C.

Please send 10 copies Voter Registration to Mr. Lee, and 1 copy to Mr. Twinam, also the returned package of 50 (?) to the new address for Mr. McKissic. Labels enclosed. Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 150 copies of our voter registration booklet to:

Hayes Mizell
American Friend Service Committee
1106 Barton Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Lable attached.

TO: B.C.
FROM: N.M.

Please send 10 copies of Voter Registration to Mrs. Hurley. Label enclosed. Thank you.

MEMO

TO: B.C.
FROM: V.J.

PLEASE SEND 2 COPIES OF VOTER REGISTRATION SUMMER '66 TO MR. POSTON AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY. LABEL [illegible] ATTACHED.

MMK

MEMO

TO: B.C.
FROM: N.M.

PLEASE SEND 100 COPIES OF KNOW YOUR RIGHTS TO MRS. NANCY SPEARS. LABELS ARE ENCLOSED.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Labels are attached for the following mailings of the registration booklet.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Potomac Institute
Community Relations Service

Many thanks

DRAFT

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The city of Atlanta is pleased to welcome the Members of the Southern Regional Council at your 22nd Annual Meeting.

The services and good wishes of the city are extended to you.

The work and goals of the Southern Regional Council are important to all of the South, and to Atlanta as the Gate City of the South. The city is proud that your Annual Meeting is held here, and hopeful that its deliberations this year are fruitful.

Sincerely yours,

DRAFT

To: Mr. John Wheeler, President of the Southern
Reginnal Council members of the Council,
and distinguished guests:

The city of Atlanta is pleased to welcome you at your 22nd Annual Meeting.

The services and good wishes of the city are extended to you.

The work and goals of the Southern Regional Council are important to all of the South, and to Atlanta as the Gate City of the South. The city is proud that your annual meeting is held here, and hopeful that its deliberations this year are fruitful.

Reading file

Rough Draft for
Comment and Revision

John Pecoul

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

THE FACT OF NEED.

More of the poor live in the South than in other regions of the United States. Approximately half live in the South.

The proportion of households trapped by poverty is larger in the South than in other regions. Almost one of every four is poor.

Within the South, the proportion of black households in poverty is more than twice that of the white households. 17.9% of 12 million white families is ppor as opposed to 58.3% of 2.3 million black families by the Orshansky index. 97 of the 100 poorest counties in the United States are in the South.

These economic facts must undergird any intelligent assessment of the scope and adequacy of present public assistance programs in the region. These facts are the unanimous conclusions of analysts of American poverty who use differing economic categories and differing statistical sources. Whether the Conference on Economic Program, the Social Security Administration, the President's Council of Economic Advisers, or the Bureau of Labor Statistics is the source for data and analysis, the conclusions are the same. Whether the poverty-line is defined as $300 or $400 or as a dependent variable of family size, age, and farm residence after Mollie Orshansky or Alan Haber, the conclusions are the same. The South has more poverty overall, a higher rate of its occurrence, and the highest rate among its black people. (See also Table 8 and 9)

THE PLACE OF PUBLICE ASSISTANCE.

Public assistance in the South must be considered against this background. It is not the purpose of the present study to jointthe controversy over welfare policies. It is rather to provide an information for all participants in the debate and for whatever consensus finally emerges.

The perspective proposed here is that public assistance* --direct cash subsidy to those outside the work force in its present or emergent form as negative income tax or guaranteed annual income--provides a crucial floor for bare or hopefully comfortable subsistence without which any talk of self-help is a mockery. This perspective is important from two points of view. First, the current sophistication about poverty as a broad socio-cultural phenomenon has caused some to ignore the economic component. While it is clearly true that for many of the poor cash payments alone will not end poverty, it is equally true that better schools, health service, consumer education, housing and so forth will not buy food, clothing, or the simplest amenities on which joy, hope, self-pride and iniative thrive.

Second, while cash payments alone will not suffice for some of the poor, they will be sufficient to end poverty among those for whom deprivation is primarily or solely monetary. S. M. Miller argues persuasively that the majority of the poor are "stable", i.e. free from family or social pathologies and employed at steady but very low pay, low skill jobs.** Many of these stable poor need nothing more than direct cash aid for their children or their own old age - plus job re-training for themselves and good education for their children. The boost from this support should be enough to break the poverty cycle permanently for about half the American poor according to Miller.

Thus, both the need for a minimum subsistence and the possibility of ending poverty for so many "stable" poor require attentiòn to the facts about cash payments now. What follows is primarily an examination of the status quo in public assistance. It initially leaves aside the more basic question of the adequacy of present programs in the South in order to discover precisely what the South is doing vis a vis its degree of need and its receipt of national resources.

WHAT IS SPENT IN THE SOUTH FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE.

21.8 % of all expenditures for public assistance payments in the U. S. in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965 occurred in the South. (Table 1) While this reflects the South's having

25.9% of the U. S. population in 1960, it does not reflect adequate consideration of the concentration of the nation's poverty in the South and the high incidence of poverty within the region.

Among individual states Texax and Louisiana spend significantly more than all the others. The size of the Texas expenditure can be attributed to the size of the state. It is less impressive when considered on a per inhabitant basis (Table 3) or a rate per 1000 basis (Table 5).

The Louisiana expenditure is even more striking when either the size of the state, the number of recipients, the rate per 1000 population and the average payment per recipient or all of these is considered. (Tables 2-4) Prima facie, this state's program cannot be judged to be adequate simply because it is large relative to national as well as southern standards. That conclusion would require more investigation. That it is a questionable conclusion will be seen when the specific programs to which states allot their resources are considered. Nevertheless, the case of Louisiana is atypical of the South in the public assistance field. The roots can be traced to the atypical southern politics of the regime of Huey Long in which desirable social welfare programs served the political welfare of Mr. Long to the chagrin of both the more innocent liberals and the conservative ;business elite. The political function served by welfare in Louisiana today is another issue that would have to be investigated before conclusions could be drawn.

At the other end of the scale stand Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2-4) They are low by all the standards by which Louisiana is high. Total expenditures, degree of coverage, payment per recipient, and number covered are generally near or at ~~x~~ the bottom of the region and the nation. Two notable exceptions occur in Virginia and thereby differentiate it from South Carolina. First, Virginia expends nore than twice as much overall for aid to dependent children than does South Carolina. It pays more per recipient to more families although its rate of coverage per 1000 is almost the same. (Table 4) Second, while Virginia assists those aged covered with higher payments, the degree of coverage per 1000 over age 65 is one-fourth that of South Carolina. (Table 4)

The other states fall in irregular patterns between the extremes of Louisiana and ~~xh~~ South Carolina. Alabama and Mississippi attract special comment because of their positions in total spending and their way of distributing funds. Mississippi's per inhabitant effort is relatively high although total spending ranks near the bottom just aheah of Virginia and South Carolina. (Tables 2 and 3) Mississippi is unique, however, in that its degree of coverage per 1000 children is highest in the south. Itscoverage per 1000 over 65 ranks third, just below Louisiana and Alabama. At the same time, the average payments to the aged and to dependent children are the lowest in the region. Mississippi spreads its resources to give a little to many. Alabama acts similarly in aiding dependent children but aids the aged with highpayments and a degree of coverage per 1000 over 65 second only to Louisiana. The scope

Table 6

of aid to the aged in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi suggests the political utility of aid to the voting aged when contrasted with the meager aid to non-voting dependent children.

HOW THE SOUTH ALLOCATES PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RESOURCES

The contrast between aid to the aged and aid to dependent children is not limited to Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi. It is a regional pattern which is more pronounced in these states. (Table 1)

The percentage distribution by program reveals that both in the South and in the nation these two programs account for the great bulk of public assistance expenditures. (Table 1) With this, the similarity ends. Whereas in the nation as a whole, assistance to the aged uses 38.6% of all funds and aid to dependent children uses 32.6%, in the South the respective percentages are 65.1 and 18.2. The only southern states which approximate the national proportional distribution are North Carolina and Virginia, (Table 2) but their coverage per 1000 is very limited. (Table 4). The proportion given to the aged is above the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Arkansas. The proportion given to dependent children is below the regional average in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina. (Table 2)

The relative proportions allotted to the aged and to dependent children are a point of controversy. Most critics attack the national proportions as severly discriminatory against the needs of children and barely sufficient for the aged poor. If the national proportions can be called inequitable, those in the South can be called iniquitous. Remembering that the South includes two times as many poor as any other region, Burton Weisbrod's analysis of Social Security Administration statistics indicates the degree of need among children. In this country, there are 15 million poor under age. 18 in contrast to 1.5 million poor over age 65 according to the Orshansky indes.*** When it is considered that the number of recipients of public assistance to the aged was 2.1 million while the number of children aided was only 3.3 million,**** it can be concluded that public assistance does not begin to cover the vast 15 million child poor. Even those covered receive average monthly payments of only $33.83 in the nation as a whole. For the South, dependent children receive no higher than $25.55 in Kentucky and as low as $9.13 in Mississippi. (Table 4(That racial discrimination makes the burden of Negro children even more onerous than it is on white children is suggested by the findings of a study by the Georgia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work.

Clearly, the present system of aid to dependent children does not begin to deal with the scope of poverty in nation or region. While the aged poor may not be receiving sufficiently large payments, it does appear that most if not all of them are being aided. Most of the 15 million child poor go largely unhelped by public assistance. A bare 3.3 million of them are aided negligibly as "dependent" and deserve more systematic and substantial aid if the developmental roots of poverty are to be severed. They are "dependent" upon a society which shuns them as illegitimate for being poor while refusing to acknowledge the illicit socio-economic intercourse which sired them.

The children-aged assistance proportions are not the only ones deserving comment, although they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic they are the largest programs. Equally symptomatic of problems in the region's public assistance policies are the low allocations for medical assistance to the aged and general assistance. (Table 1) The South accounts for only 4.1% of the total national expenditures for medical aid to the aged under public assistance programs.***** It spends only 4.9% of the funds for general assistance, i.e. individual cases of special need determined by case-workers. Whereas in the nation a a whole, medical assistance to the aged receives 9.9% of all public assistance funds and general assistance receives 7.2%, in the south medical aid accounts for only 1.8% of all public assistance funds spent in the region and general assistance accounts for only 1.6%.

The implication ~~thus~~ here is twofold. First, Southern states have not availed themselves of available federal resources for medical aid probably because of non-discrimination conditions for full participation and because state funds are also required. Mississippi, and Texas had no programs at all. Others were very limited. (Table 2) Second, since there are no federal funds for general assistance to special cases, most southern states have made no effort to fulfill their own responsibility. Only Louisiana makes a significan effort relative to its size. Texas spends less for a population three times as large. Both states have important revenue sources in their extensive petroleum deposits. The other states either do not have or have not allocated adequate or even minimal resources for casework. (Table 2)

SOURCES OF FUNDS

The discussion of resources for general assistance raises the question of source of funds. In general, the South is much more dependent on federal funds than is the nation as a whole. (Table 5) Further, local governments give proportions of aid in the South much smaller than in the nation except on general assistance. On this program, southern local governments compensate for deficiency of state government efforts. Also worthy of note is the extent to which federal funds subsidize the southern preference for aid to the aged over aid to dependent children. Consequently, 45.9% of all federal public assistance funds go for old age assistance. (Table 6) Also, the South accounts for 43.3% of all federal oldage assistance funds as opposed to 30% of all federal funds and only 21.8% of all public assistance funds--local, state, and federal. Once again a question occurs as to whether this would be so if children were voters like the aged. Finally, when state funds alone are considered, southern states spend considerably less than both their population and their degree of poverty require. (Table 7)

CONCLUSION

1. As a whole and in almost all the individual states, public assistance expenditures in the south are below the national average in terms of total funds, amounts per inhabitant, average payment per recipient, and coverage per 1000 population in the given category for special assistance. Louisiana is an exceptiontto this regional pattern.

2. Expenditure of both federal and all public assistance funds in the south is not commensurate with the degree of need indicated by comparative statistics on poverty in region and nation. It appears to be more commensurate with population and hence voting strength and congressional representation.

3. The per recipient payments and number covered under aid to dependent children is woefully inadequate to the number of child poor in region and nation.

4. Southern states give a larger proportion of assistance to the aged than does the nation as a whole; they give a smaller proportion to aid dependent children.

5. Southern states avoided pre-medicare programs of aged-medical aid.

6. Southern states except Louisiana make little effort to aid cases of special need when compared with the nation.

7. Southern states depend much more on federal funds for public assistance programs than the nation as a whole.

* "Public assistance" as used here does not include Old Age Survivors, and Disability Insurance, unemployment compensation, job-retraining, and anti-poverty programs. It is primarily direct cash payments to individuals in special need under the federally subsidized state programs noted in Table 1 and under general assistance programs supported solely by states. General assistance is aid to the poor beyond what is covered by the special assistance program. They depend wholly upon the individual states and thus vary widely with the available resources and the commitments of the states.

** S. M. Miller, "The American Lower Classes: A Typological Approach", New Perspective On Poverty (ed. X/ Shostate and W. Gamberg (Englewood Cliffs, J. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965) p. 27.

888 Burton Weisbrod, "The Economies of Poverty". (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice@Hall, Inc., 1965)

****Division of Research, Bureau of Family Services, Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare: Statistics for June, 1965.

*****It should be noted that this analysis is based on the most recently available data i.e. the fiscal year ended June 30, 1965. Thus, it does not consider the effect of Medicare which began July 1, 1966.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMO to Mr. Jordan:

Despite all this effort, the white turnout I gather to be 71.8 per cent and the Negro turnout 70.8 per cent. I gather also that the Millers weren't familiar with Clarendon County (I may be wrong about this). Note the sentence, "We found that this is the harvest season for tobacco." I have no doubt that by hook or crook many Negroes were prevented from voting.

mw

MEMORANDUM

TO: Janiet Smith

FROM: Marvin Wall

Mr. Richard T. Fleming of the Republic National Committee asked that he be placed on our mailing list. The complete address is as follows:

Mr. Richard Fleming
Associate Director
Republic National Committee
1625 Eye St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Many thanks,

TO: Ed Stanfield

FROM: Thaddeus Olive

Enclosed please find requested information.

Mr. A. Z. Young
President
Bogalusa Voters League
1215 Lincoln Street
Bogalusa, Louisiana 70427

Mr. Matt Suarez
1819 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. James J. Washington
Citizens Committee
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc.
Alexandria, Louisiana

The Reverend Joseph Rax
512 Willow Glen Road
Alexandria, Louisiana

The Reverend J. S. Thompson
Shreveport Louisiana Branch, NAACP
2755 Ashton Street
Shreveport, Louisiana

Mr. Howard Austin
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
425 General Mouten Street
Lafayette, Louisiana 70504

Mrs. Una Mae Hargrave
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
425 General Mouten Street
Lafayette, Louisiana 70504

Mrs. Virginia Young Collins
9130 Fig Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Reverend F. D. Kirkpatrick
P. O. Box 687
Grambling, Louisiana

Mr. Joseph B. Smith
1526 Mansfield Street
Marrero, Louisiana

Dr. James H. Henderson
403 W. Pershing Street
New Iberia, Louisiana

Father Edward Harris, Jr.
Notre Nouveau Jour a Commence, Inc.
1520 N. Market St.
Opelousas, Louisiana

Mr. W. W. Harleaux
1818 Haase Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

Mr. Louis Berry
1406 9th St.
Alexandria, Louisiana

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Thad Olive

Could we have the administrative expense breakdown for the voter project from January 1 to June 30. This information is a part of our six months report.

Hospitals in Atlanta and Atlanta area certified for Medicare

(Information from Atlanta office of H.E.W.)

1. NORTHSIDE
2. DOCTORS' HOSPITAL, Tucker, Georgia
3. MCLENDON
4. PEACHTREE - PARKWOOD
5. GEORGIA CLINIC
6. JESSE PARKER WILLIAMS
7. HOLY FAMILY
8. DEKALB GENERAL, Decatur, Ga.
9. HENRIETTA EGLESTON FOR CHILDREN
10. SOUTH FULTON, East Point, Ga.
11. GEORGIA MENTAL INSTITUTION
12. ST. JOSEPH's INFIRMARY
13. PIEDMONT
14. CRAWFORD W. LONG - (Methodist--not a part of Emory Univ.)
15. EMORY UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL
16. GRADY MEMORIAL
17. HUGH SPAULDING (Has been all Negro. It is a part of Grady Memorial. It is not a charity hospital.)

TO: Nathan Greene, Intern Program Consultant, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

FROM: J. Edwin Stanfield, Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council.

RE: Supervisor's Report on Robert S. Valder, Eleanor Roosevelt Intern.

I. During this quarter Mr. Valder has carried all of the responsibility of acting as Director of The Alabama Council on Human Relations--and he has carried it well. From frequent conversations with him and from comments by officers and members of the ACHR, I continue to be highly impressed with his maturity, thoughtfulness, energy, imagination, administrative ability, and dedication to justice and equality.

In the course of his work in this capacity Mr. Valder has had opportunity for administrative responsibility--including supervision of a secretary; writing newsletters, reports, memorandums, etc.; preparing for and taking the executive's role in Executive Committee meetings; supervision of a field staff person (Mr. Lewis Black, Director of ACHR's Rural Advancement Project); administering a fund raising and membership enlistment program; consulting with local officers of the council concerning programs and local problems; direct involvement in civil rights and welfare problems. And this listing is only a partial one--the prominent features of his three month's experience.

II. Mr. Valder has many strenghts, as I have indicated, and all in such measure that it is difficult to rank them. I would say that his greatest strength is a single-minded commitment to justice, equality, and relief for the oppressed.

His weakness--if it can be called that--is perhaps an unavoidable implicate of his strength: a simplistic dualism of right and wrong, of justice and injustice. Thus the quality of his mercy toward the white majority in Alabama is somewhat strained. This is a very undamaging weakness, of course.

III. Future Employment

A. Mr. Valder has accepted a permanent position as Associate Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

B. Yes, I would recommend him for employment in the intergroup relations field.

C. It seems to me that Mr. Valder is better suited, both by talent and by temperament, to work involving investigation of violations and enforcement of the law than he is to work involving conciliation as a means of securing compliance. (This is not to say that he does badly at the latter.) If he were inclined to work in a government agency, for example, I think he would be much happier and more effective in the Civil Rights Commission or as a compliance investigator for HEW than as a Community Relations Service field man.

cc: Robert S. Valder

MEMORANDUM

TO: GLENDA BARTLEY

SAMUEL ADAMS

JOAN BROWNING

AL ULMER

FROM: EMORY VIA

I would like to see materials relating to migrant labor, especially those that pertain to Florida, and the east coast migrant situations. If you have any clips, studies, pamphlets, books, or references to any of these would you please call them to my attention. I am not asking so much forpast materials as for those which are currently in your hands or will be passing through them in the future.

Thank y'all.

Mr. Jesse Hill, Jr.
Chairman
All-Citizens Registration Committee
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

Enclosed are the following: 1) Copy of our letter of transmittal to the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta, 2) copy of deposit slip, and 3) Weekly Report forms for your weekly reports.

Good luck in your program.

Sincerely yours,

Thaddeus Olive
Administrative Assistant

TD:nm
Enclosures

Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Haas:

We confront now two problems related to the state organizations:

1. Suitable By-Laws for each state organization. A draft of such By-Laws is submitted for your scrutiny and correction.

2. Shouldn't each state organization seek a Corporate Charter under the laws of its own state? In that event, to what extent, having regard for the laws of the several states, may we with propriety prescribe generally the purposes, structure, and powers of such corporations?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Dear Kack,

If Professor Olivier arrives Monday, April 12 I'll be in Macon, at mtg. of Ga. IRC. Show him his schedule, which is as follows:

Tuesday, April 13	9.30	GSM
	11.00	HCFleming
	3.30	Phil Hammer
	8.30 evening,	probably at G.T.Hamilton's house
Wednesday	11.15	Ralph McGill
	2.00	Benj. Mays
Thursday	2.30	Rufus Clement
Friday	6.30	Dinner at GSM's, with Morris and Jane Abram and John and Wally Griffin
Saturday	GSM	expects to drive him into the country, looking at farms and owners and tenants. Maybe to Tuskegee
Sunday		texcin pm with the Abram's.
Monday		leaves for Nashvillee

Olivier wishes to interview the Governor. Bill Howland has promised GSM that Howland will try to work out, if Howland can be notified about it during Monday, April 12, or perhaps during Tuesday. If O. gets in Monday, and wishes to see Governor, will you call Howland and ask Howland to try to arrange, fitting it into O'l schedule?

I assume O will stay at a hotel, but he's welcome chez G & A.

Wednesday Thursday

Dear Marion,

A note, to catch you up; not yet a full answer to your letters.

When Frank Loescher came he was quite cordial. Said he had made the rounds of the standard people to consult in Atlanta, and heard us only praised. And that even from the banker whom he went to see. Frank and I had a budget-cutting session in his hotel, most of a day. They are prepared to spend something like 500,000 on us, or at least Loescher will recommend that, and I am sure the figure has been tentatively earmarked on whatever mental books the F for R keeps. How to get our proposal under the line? I did our best, with valiant help from all concerned, especially K Stoney, and came up with what will be sent you, and goes forward to F for R tonight. They will circulate this to their Board members, preparatory to a meeting which is expected to be about April 1.

I came to Chapel Hill and Loescher's heels, and confiremed there his good account of us.

This program is by a good deal less than we had wanted, but the situation has moved along since 1951, and I think earnest effort may well make it succeed.

HCF is hard at work on a boiled-down pamphlet for SRC to do on the Ashmore report.

F for R may well stake us to a minute planning conference at Williamsburg, late April, at say cost of 7,000. Guys to plan ahead to get best use of decision, six months hence, and five years hence. What to do in schools, in University research and teaching, in politics, or rather in Governmental reform, etc.

All here mighty busy, which we like.

Best,

[illegible]

Bishop Alfred Cole
Trinity Parish House
Columbia, S. C.

My dear Bishop Cole:

For a good many years, by happy arrangement, the Province of Sewanee has most kindly sent to the Southern Regional Council a contribution of a hundred dollars.

In 1952, if our records are right, as an incident to the shift in the chairmanship of the Province, no contribution was received by the Council. But in March 1953 that most welcome sum was duly received.

I write now to express the hope that for 1954 the Province will remember this long and much valued link with SRC, and will at the right time assist us again.

The Synod has on two or three occasions formally endorsed the Council, and both Bishop Penick and Bishop Clingman are members of the newly chosen Board of Directors established in May of this year. It is also the case that the National Council has in recent years given us a generous thousand-dollar grant.

We value the sum from the Province particularly, because we have always understood that the Province had so small a sum for assistance of this kind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia
U. S. A.

Professor Edwards
Department of English Literature
University of Western Australia
Perth
AUSTRALIA

Dear Professor Edwards;

The other day at Williamsburg, Virginia, I spent some time with my good friend Warner Moss, and he told me of his pleasure at having your acquaintance. I reviewed to him the attached bit of Australian history 120 years ago which I saw in somebody's book and haven't been able to locate since.

Warner through you could do what no one else has been able to do-- turn me up the full details. I would like to print a correct version in our small magazine. Sample copy coming separately.

Most kind if you could give the project a push along.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Info requests

To: Mr. Malcolm Pl Calhoun, Secfy
Division of Christian Relations
Presbyterian Church of the US
712 Henry Grady Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

From: Southern Regional Council

Race and Law Enforcement:

RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
"Church and Conscience in the South," describing the Fellowship of the Concerned
Report on Southern sheriffs visited by Fellowship of the Concerned
Negro Police, 1952 list
Negro Police, 1945-1952, Summary table
"Lynching, 1950: The Law Gains Ground" (brought up to date)

Politics and suffrageF

Negro Representation on Public Bodies, Typewritten summary
"Negro Candidates for Southern Elections"
"Race andSuffrage Today, A Progress Report"
RACE AND SUFFRAGE SINCE 1940
"How Prejudice Lost at the Polls"
"Poll Tax--an Old Evil Dies Hard" (brought up to date)

Education:

"New Trend in Private Colleges"
Southern Colleges and Universities open to Negroes, list
"Supreme Court considers Segregation "

Southern economy, employment and income:
"Changes in the Cotton South"
Family Income in the South, tables
"Negro Municipal Workers in the South"

Community and housing:

GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA(Report of Greenville, SC self-survey of Negro community)
"Greenville's Big Idea Grows," Follow-up report on survey
Editorial on Greenville survey from LIGHTHOUSE AND INFORMER
"Housing in our Cities"

"Professional Associations Drop the Color Bar" (brought up to date)

"Changing Patterns in a Border State, Kentucky Progress"

"A City Works at Human Relations"

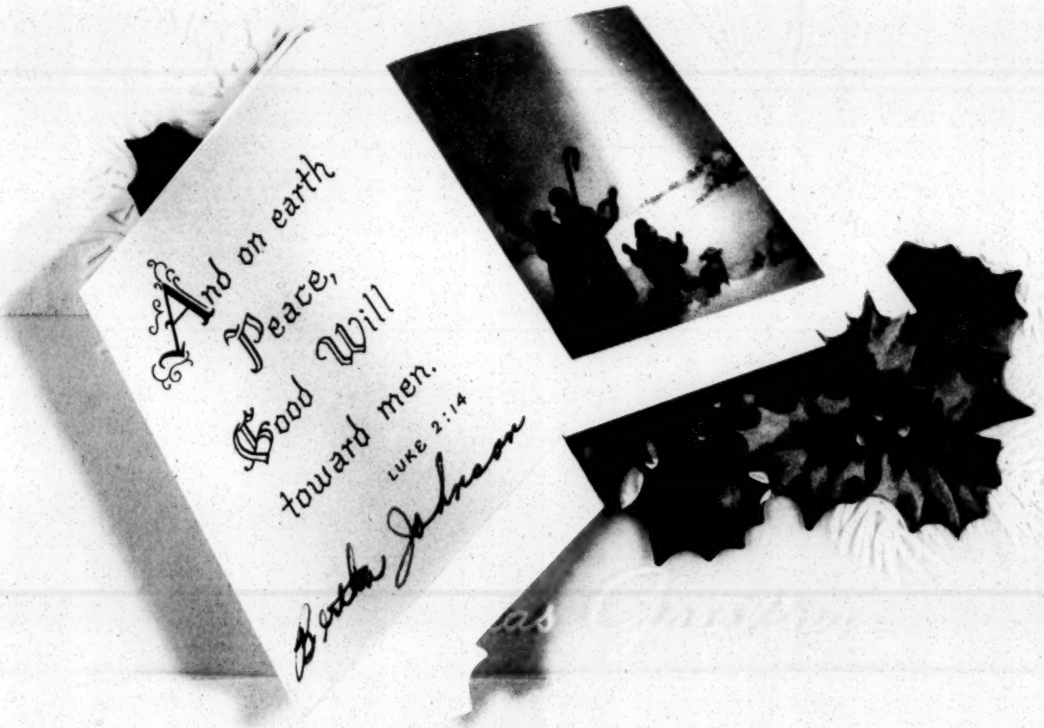
STAFF

Note: Safety and Security sells for 10¢ a pamphlet.

To the staff

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To the staff



And on earth
Peace,
Good Will
toward men.
LUKE 2:14

Bertha Johnson

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Staff: Signs of our Times

The brown wrapping paper in the stock room has become almost impossible to get. Let's make this go as far as possible. In the meantime, I'm still trying to get some.

nh

I had occasion, some months ago, at another great Alabama institution, to ask that our Southern States drop their role as instruments of white supremacy, and become agencies of impartial well-being. That is a task that will take some doing. It will need work nationally, on a State basis, and locally in our own home communities. Tonight I want to talk about the things we can do in our home towns, to bring about that better day.

The great material problems are in five fields: jobs and farms and homes and schools and health. On the first of these, industrial employment, there is not much the private citizen can do, though it should be the business of us all to urge that industry be brought to the wide stretches of the South now without any at all, and by getting technical skills taught in our schools we can both speed industrialization and upgrade the share of the Southern people in industrial earnings.

On better farming, there is a good deal anybody can do. In the first place, we should use every encouragement to widespread farm ownership. The South just now is on the turn between the dying out of the old plantation system and the emergence of a new organization of the land. All the lessons of history are that family farm ownership will provide the surest mold of democratic institutions; if we can come out five or ten years from now with a clear pattern of Southern families tilling their own land, we shall have strengthened our society immeasurably. We can urge farmers to buy land and to learn the skill to till and hold it. We can support government programs that help tenants to become owners. We can urge our experiment stations and extension services to show us how to mechanize successfully the family holding. We can put our weight behind a movement to require by law that farm land be leased only in writing, and only for a reasonable term of years, and only with clauses requiring compensation for improvements or damages for destruction. A shool or a church that has any high proportion of land near it ill-farmed, or out on oral leases, or held by only a few landowners, should count itself as having to that extent failed in its job of community leadership. Nobody does more to build decency and democracy in the South than he who makes a tenant farmer into a family landowner.

On houses, the chance is at last ~~[illegible]~~ here, though I fear the onset of war will bring further postponements. We now have a rounded program of publicly assisted housing, made to fit the needs of cities, towns, villages, and the open country. If you live in a city or a town with slum housing, work and tug until you get the program used in your town. It's there for you. Congress has indicated that it wants slums to be cleaned out. The price is hard, organized work in your local community. If you haven't got a Housing Authority, get one set up. If it doesn't know what conditions are, show it. If public opinion is against you, ~~[illegible]~~ convert it. If you've got a slum, and ten or twenty people of conscience and energy, you can replace the slums with clean homes, bathrooms, green grass, and playgrounds full of kids the town will be proud of. That's for cities and towns. And now, just lately, they've come out with how to get it for little tiny places, ~~such~~ the size of Hackleburg and ~~Loachapoka~~ Loachapoka.

Last year, when Congress put up money for the general housing program, it said that ten per cent of the money had to be laid aside for rural non-farm housing. Now the procedures on that are out. It applies to towns of up to 2,500 people. Probably three, four, or five little towns could club together and get a county or other Housing Authority to float the bonds for putting up new rental housing where needed. I won't go into all the procedures, but it is fairly simple. Again, the rule is that those little towns are going to get the homes which go to work to get them. Get the people to know the facts, ask and work for improvement, and it will be made.

Unless the war enterferes, we are also on the verge of a very much higher standard of rural housing. After many years of effort, there is at last the law and the money to help people get much better farm ~~houses. If a man has a good farm and~~ houses. If a man who has a good farm wants a better house or a tight barn and can't borrow the money on reasonable terms from some local bank, he can borrow directly from the Secretary of Agriculture at four per cent for twenty years. A poorer man who owns a small farm and is buying more land and can't afford payments toward a decent home for his wife and kids can also borrow from the Department of Agriculture, which will in effect forgive him the interest for the first ten years while he is ~~building~~ bringing his enlarged farm up to where it will carry a living for his family and payments for the home. And if a man is a cropper or a tenant or a laborer living in his landlord's house, there is still a way for his home to be improved. If the landlore will agree not to raise the farm rent, then the government can lend up to ~~five~~ $500, ~~per cent and often grant up to five~~ and often grant up to $500, to put the house in livable condition. Eight hundred or a thousand dollars will do a lot, even today, to a tenant shack. It will add a screened-in porch and a tight roof and another bedroom and a coat of paint, and it may even stretch to cover an electric pump and running water and a bathroom.

In the last fifteen years we have all seen the electric lines go down the country roads. We now have a program which can carry running water and sanitation down those same country roads. Here again, of ten rural neighbrohoods, one will get it first. That first one will be the one that had two or three well informed citizens with friends, with a reputation for level-headedness, and with courage and energy to push hard.

Let's turn to schools. The famous case in King George County, Virginia, two years ago made it perfectly plan that no public body providing separate schools for people of two races has any longer any legal right to provide one set of schools inferior to the other. ~~Quix~~ Quite rightly, our States and counties and cities ~~xiiixbxing~~ are being pushed up against this decision. ~~Tha~~ At long last the nice new Negro schools are qa-building. If equal scholls can only come in your county from a lawsuit, I certainly praise the lawsuit. If they can be got out of the common decency of the people of the county without the lawsuit, so much the better. But in either case, you are going to have to have the facts. There has to be somewhere, somebody with some sheets of paper, and written on the paper how many cubic feet of schoolroom space per Negro child, and how many cubic feet per white child; and how many tolerably new desks per white child, and how many tolerably new desks per Negro child; and how many and what kind of cookstoves in the Home Ec Department in Winnie Davis School for how many pupils, and how many and what kind of cookstoves in the Home Ec Department for how many pupils in George Washington Carver School. If somebody has the facts, and he or somebody else has some nerve, any county can do what King George did and get a nice new Ralph J. Bunche High School.

You can get hospitals, too. Senatoo Hill of this State is coauthor of the Hill-Burton Act, which provides generous Federal sums to aid States or localities in providing a network of hospitals to serve all the people. Good hospitals draw good doctors, and the two together go a long way toward getting good health. But here again, unless you are just mighty lucky, nobody is going to come and drop a nice modern rural hospital in your county unless you and your friends have put down on paper how many people got sick the last year, and the year before, and what of, and how far they had to go to get a hospital bed, and how many did that didn't need to.

That's jobs and farms and homes and schools and ho~~p~~spitals, and I have tried to show you that the price of all of them now is proof of need, and energy, and civic good will.

On proof of need, I offer you a useful device. The thing I work for is called the Southern Regional Council. It wants all these things for all the people of the South. We find one of the best ways for getting it is for a community to make what is called a Home Town Self-Survey. That doesn't mean raising money and hiring experts to come from Pittsburgh and figure out what the towns needs and then go home and have nothing happen. What you do instead is very carefully to pick a local committee of people from both races. Do a lot of quiet talking first about whether you want Mr. So-and-So or Mrs. So-and-So or don't. Get the people who can get things done. Call the committee together. When they say, "All right, whom do we hire to make the Survey?" the answer is, "Go do it yourselves." When Mr. So-and-So and Mrs. So-and-So go down in the bum end of town and count what they see and write what they smell, things will begin to happen in town. We have a manual which we gladly send out to towns that want to make a survey of this kind. It covers health and housing and schools and farm ownership and recreation and police and transportation and the sewer system and the whole works. It isn't a hard thing to do in mechanics, though it takes organization and purpose. Greenville, South Carolina, has just done a beautiful one. Let me read you what one of the head men in the committee said:

"The best thing about the survey was that it got people together. We didn't know each other well enough. Now we do. Meeting and working together -- not as people of two races, but as citizens with a common purposev-- has been a release and a relief."

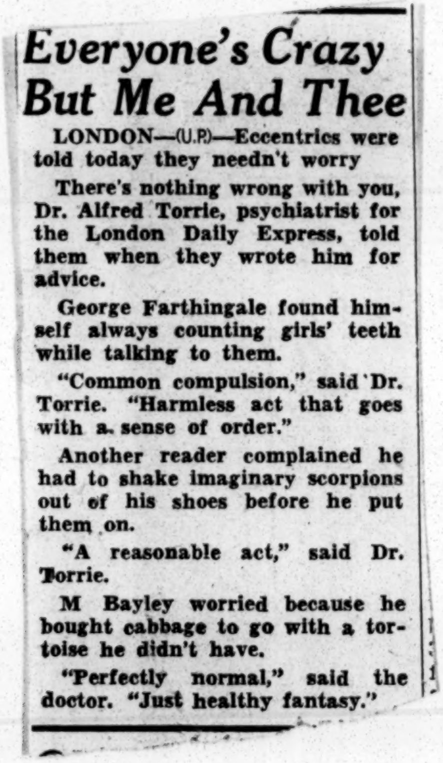
Such a Survey will give you the facts. It will almost automatically start a program. And it will also make friends of a lot of citizens who scarcely knew each other before.

On that, I offer you this Southern Regional Council in general. It exists in order to call together the common citizenship, white and Negro, of these Southern States. When you get right down to it, there is something unique about our Southern towns. I think it is that, contrary to all that people say, our white and Negro citizens do know how to work together and how to like each other. It is this which the Council unites in a membership that stretches across the South. We are not strong, but we are fairly careful and we are truthful and we get a surprising number of things done. I do hope that many of you here today will let me know of your interest in this cause of interracial understanding.

There is much more I would like to talk about but shall only mention. We have done a little green book that tells Southern newspapers how to be fair in writing news about Negroes. We all know the old customs. If a white man breaks open a store, the headline says, Burglar Caught in Dime Store. If a colored man breaks open the store, the headline says, Negro Robs Store; White Woman Screams. The rules of doing things right are, after all, fairly simple, but nobody had ever put them down and got them out to the papers. We did it. Then we did something else. We asked that in as many towns as possible, local committees go to see the editor and ask the editor to bring his paper around to the rules in the little green book. If your home town paper still goes by the old rules, get hold of the book and form a committee and go and talk to the man who runs the paper. I have sent him the book. He's got it. You get him to read it and go by it. I've talked with enough people in the South in the past year to know that, whether the little green book did it or not, a great many papers are a great deal better than they were a short time ago.

~~Maybe if our States and cities~~ Lastly, if our States and cities and towns are to become agencies of impartial well-being, they must accustom themselves to impartial use of administrative personnel. If the Council's figures of a few weeks ago are still right, only a single town in this whole great State of Alabama ~~as yet uses Negroes as yet uses~~ as yet uses Negro policement And I believe that town has only one. Memphis has them, New Orleans has them, Nashville has them, Atlanta has them, Savannah has them. Everybody likes them. We ought to have Negroes in the fire department, and, of course, they ought to be used impartially throughout all of our ~~pass~~ processes of government. That you can work on, too.

May I close with a last word about civil rights? Getting the law changed and tight and approved isone thing, and a very important thing. We should all work for it. ~~It is not the thing~~ There is another thing to do, also, and I think it is equally important. And that is to get people so well educated, so competent, so well housed, in such good health, and of such dignity of bearing that everybody wants to give them their rights. We have both jobs to do in the South. And in the long run, the jobs get done, or they don't get done, in our own home towns. So I urge you to give as~~s~~ much energy as you can to making a common citizenship that bridges the lines of race and to finding the facts on which the material changes can be ~~made~~ made.



Everyone's Crazy But Me And Thee

LONDON—(U.P.)—Eccentrics were told today they needn't worry

There's nothing wrong with you, Dr. Alfred Torrie, psychiatrist for the London Daily Express, told them when they wrote him for advice.

George Farthingale found himself always counting girls' teeth while talking to them.

"Common compulsion," said Dr. Torrie. "Harmless act that goes with a sense of order."

Another reader complained he had to shake imaginary scorpions out of his shoes before he put them on.

"A reasonable act," said Dr. Torrie.

M Bayley worried because he bought cabbage to go with a tortoise he didn't have.

"Perfectly normal," said the doctor. "Just healthy fantasy."

Miss Beth Biderman
Executive Secretary
National Sharecroppers Fund
40 East 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Biderman:

A useful person from around Hartsville, South Carolina, is named Caroline Gillespie. She has a plan for a rural recreational project in that area. I and many others have advised her about it, and she has something that will work.

She wants to come to New York right after Labor Day and see people that might possibly help her.

The help wouldn't be for my Council. (I am simply endorsing her proposal and helping her beg.) Could you or someone at your office see her some time in the first week after Labor Day when she comes to New York?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Mr. John R. Voris
Executive Director
Save the Children Foundation
1 Madison Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Voris:

A useful person from around Hartsville, South Carolina, is named Caroline Gillespie. She has a plan for a rural recreational project in that area. I and many others have advised her about it, and she has something that will work.

She wants to come to New York right after Labor Day and see people that might possibly help her.

The help wouldn't be for my Council. (I am simply endorsing her proposal and helping her beg.) Could you or someone at your office see her some time in the first week after Labor Day when she comes to New York?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Mr. J. Harris Purks
General Education Board
49 West 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Purks:

A young woman named Caroline Gillespie, whose people have owned land near Hartsville, South Carolina, for a long time, is interested in a new kind of rural recreational program for Negroes which she wants to get started in that vicinity.

I and a good many other people have advised her as she shaped her plans.

She is coming to New York for the week after Labor Day, from September 5 to sgy 12, and hopes to get more advice and maybe somewhere some money. Not a lot.

It is an independent proposal, not anything our Council worked up as a project of its own, but we do think it a good scheme.

Could she get some advice from you at some time in that week?

She asked me to try to get several appointments for her, so I suppose your kind reply ought to come to me. She is now traveling on Red Cross disaster relief.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Memo – To staff

The permanent officers of the new Arkansas Division are:

President: Rev. W. W. Wilkie, 2100 Wolfe Street, Little Rock

Vice President: Mr. Charles Hicks, State Dept. of Education, Little Rock

Secretary: Rev. Charles Walker, 1216 Chester Street, Little Rock

Treasurer: Mrs. Floyd Bates, 125 Atkins Street, Rose City, North Little ~~Ro~~ Rock

(Note on ~~the~~ any lists of state officers which you have.)

x

Collect

DAY LETTER - COLLECT

Mr. J. G. Maddox
American International Association
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Occasion for testimonial dinner Tuesday June 20 is conference on Changing Status of Negro in Southern Agriculture. Patterson suggests as key themes Dr. Will's thirty years work in South to improve race relations and status of Negro, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, religious interests, agricultural reform. Address Mr. F. D. Patterson, President Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Elizabeth Rogers
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Charles T. Steele
Urban League
418 South 5th Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Steele:

I profited a lot from the day in Louisville yesterday. I don't know whether the morning or the lunch or the afternoon was the most interesting, but I am grateful for all three.

I am sure there are things the Council can do to help along the Police Academy program.

Expenses were as follows:

Railroad	$41.58
Tips	.65
Meals	1.20
Total	$43.43

I will be entirely happy if the Council could be reimbursed for half of this amount.

I do hope you had a good board meeting today. It would be a great pleasure to be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

SMALL TOWN SLUMS - HOW TO GET NEW HOUSES

The New ~~Review~~ Government Program for Rural Non-Farm Housing

At long last a way has been opened for quite small towns to get public help on housing for their low-income families.

The Southern Regional Council has long complained that shack housing is quite as bad in little towns as in city slums.

Now low-income local citizens in little towns can get good modern homes.

The Federal Public Housing Act, passed in 1949, said that one-tenth of its help must be set aside for rural non-farm housing.

Generally speaking, that means towns with less than 2,500 people. Whether they are incorporated or not doesn't matter. Housing in open farm country is not available under this program, although it can be had through the U. S. Department of Agriculture under other sections of the same Act.

To get housing under the Rural Non-Farm Program, you need to have a legally established Housing Authority. Often it will be a county Housing Authority. Sometimes a regional Housing Authority. Sometimes a city Housing Authority can put housing in nearby small towns. Housing Authorities are set up under State law, and practically all the Southern States have laws which will serve all right.

The arrangement for Federal aid is pretty much the same as with city housing. Enough help is provided to make it possible to pay out the cost of the new homes at rents which low-income families can pay. In this small town housing, you don't have to tear down a shack for every good home built. In city slum clearance, you do (or at least make it decent).

The first step is to be sure you have a Housing Authority which can meet the requirements. Then it applies to the Federal Government to get money set aside for the houses it wants. They call this "obtaining a program reservation." If the Housing Authority can raise its own money to plan the houses, well and good; if they can't raise the money, it can be borrowed from the Government on preliminary loan contract. Early in the game you will need to have formal approval by the town council or the county commissioners or whatever is the local governing body. You have to show need for the houses now and for a long time to come. You have to have at an early stage a good number of applications for the houses, and these must come fairly from citizens of different races. If the application is finally approved, the Local Housing Authority will get the homes built by private contract. The people move in and pay rent to the local Housing Authority, which on a contract basis pays out its debt with the help of annual contributions from the Public Housing Administration in Washington.

Your county or other Housing Authority should plan to put up enough houses to keep management overhead from being too high per unit. That will often mean that small places within a county or within a group of counties will go in for new housing together. Thus, in Hatch-Hatchie County, for instance, Quakertown (pop. 2,300) would ask for 61 houses, and Davisville (pop. 1,800) would ask for 43 houses, and Old Moriah (pop. 350) would ask for 7 houses, and Shoe Heel Creek neighborhood (closely settled, pop. 273) would want 6. That would make 117 houses to be built and managed by the Hatch-Hatchie County Housing Authority. The families that would get the houses would have to be low income. There will have to be reasonable prospect that the towns where houses would be built would have stable employment opportunities.

Houses cannot be built under this program on farms, but people who go out and work on farms could live in these houses.

Communities in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee interested in the Rural Non-Farm Housing program should send inquiries to M. B. Satterfield, Field Office Director, Public Housing Administration, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

In North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky, write to A. R. Hanson, 900 North Normandy Street, Richmond 20, Virginia.

In Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma, write to Clarence J. Stenzel, 805 Texas and Pacific Passenger Building, Ft. Worth 2, Texas.

About three small towns in Alabama have already gotten their money set aside. They are the first.

Here is a chance for our little towns to show their public spirit and get on the map.

The proper government name of this program is Rural Non-Farm Housing. The Act under which it operates is the Housing Act of 1949, Public Law 171. The Public Housing Administration procedures which govern it are 101.1, issued June 13, 1950, and 201.2, issued June 13, 1950.

The application form to be submitted to the Public Housing Administration by the local Housing Authority is Form PHA-2040. If your local Authority asks for advice from the PHA on working up a project, they will try to send somebody for a conference.

o o o

SRC suggests that a Home-Town Self-Survey would quickly turn up the facts as to the kind of need for housing. The Council will be glad to advise any town on how to make such a Survey. Some have done them, and others are doing them.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

TO:. Norma Huff

FROM: George Mitchell

I think we ought to bundle up a sort of final report to Mr. Clement, copies to Paul Williams and Gordon Hancock. I see you got far toward that in the report you read before the Board. If that could be reworked a bit -- it may not need any revision -- and have added to it for Clement// reports which reached us from all of those various people that would be a good thing to do.

Letter to certain persons associated with the Abram-Haas Effort

Dear Mr. -----------,

We recall with appreciation your kindness in attending a luncheon called by Mr. Morris Abram, at the Ansley Hotel, on March 30.

As a consequence of that gathering, the Southern Regional Council has received already the gratifying sum of $1520. Your generous aid, and that of your friends, gave us new strength at a time when it was hard to see the way through our budget problems. The Executive Committee on March 31 planned the more hopefully for future sums, and the extraordinary meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council, on April 22, found or pledged additional sums, almost entirely from the avrious Southern States, amounting to $15,500. That leaves the Council only $8,000 short of enough to see it through the year, free of any indebtedness, and we think we can find much of that from large gifts. So we begin to feel assured of keeping the Council at work.

We are deeply grateful for the moving and speedy generosity of your group, and we wish to continue to be worthy of your friendship.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Rev. H. Brent Schaeffer
1525 Robinson Street
Jackson 26, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Schaeffer:

In preparation for the coming Executive Committee meeting, we are trying to complete our report on the amounts paid on each of the State pledges.

It is most important that the Committee have all the information so that intelligent decisions can be made. For this reason, will you notify me if the following information is incorrect:

Mississippi Division Treasury		$150.00
Pres. & Mrs. John Long - Edwards		25.00
Mr. & Mrs. M. J. Lyells - Jackson		25.00
Dr. & Mrs. David Minter - Cruger		25.00
TOTALS	Pledged: $1,000.00	Paid: $225.00

If any sums are now on hand, it would be most helpful to have them here for the meeting, so the Executive Committee will have the complete report.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Acting Secretary-Treasurer

NH:er

CC: Mrs. Lyells

X

collect

The Survey
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Address J. Mansir Tydings is Lincoln Foundation, Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

TELEGRAM - COLLECT

Paul Williams talked with Bill Ellerson of Miller N. Rhoads.

Will you send Mr. Ellerson a financial statement of last year & the 4 page mimeo statement of his much needed.

Say: you understand PW talked with him. At his request I am sending financial information & other pertinent information concerning the Council.

PW will write him for money.

Miller N. Rhoads
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Channing Tobias
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Tobias:

I was greatly interested in the report on the African students. I have scribbled out the enclosed note, thinking it probably right to publish the note in the New South. I will be grateful for your comments.

Really quite a lot could be done in the South with this idea, and the Council has the contacts that could get something moving.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Enc.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(WAlnut 7963)

The Southern Regional Council was formed in 1944 as a direct successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The incorporators were Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University. The Council grew out of a tradition of quiet and sober work in the field of race relations, in which church people had played a major part since World War I. It has always been wholly non-political in its approach.

In essence, the Council's approach rests on the belief that every Southern state and most Southern communities have people of both races who can work together as equals. Through their efforts, we believe the South can adjust to the legal changes now required and ultimately achieve a society in which racial distinctions will be eliminated from public life. We see our role as that of encouraging and assisting with information and professional services the people who feel this way. We see little point in denouncing those who feel otherwise, but believe that in time many of them will come to share our views. We believe that it is a mistake to underestimate the resistance to changes in the racial pattern or the problems that such changes may bring. On the other hand, in our experience, the positive resources of the South are the ones that are most commonly underestimated.

The Southern Regional Council is not the successor -- de facto, or otherwise -- of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The SCHW was organized in 1938 and survived until about 1949; the SRC was organized in 1944. As one might expect from this timing, and from their differing approaches to the problems of the South, the two organizations were widely regarded as rival agencies. That some members of the SRC's staff and board at one time participated in the Southern Conference is true. At its inception, the Conference attracted the cream of the South's liberal leadership; it was after these persons had become disillusioned and withdrew from the Conference that it acquired its dubious reputation.

The organizing meeting of the Southern Regional Council was held in response to a call issued by the following persons:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. George, Southern Director, A.F.L
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

accident. man's secretaryless
and doing his own

Dear Mrs. Hestir,

Mrs. Henderson wrote me to be in touch with you. I've had hon. operator be in touch with your phone all day but 'tis a d.a. So I write Air Mail quicko.

I do now quite understand that it is Wednesday evening November 30th that I make my talk to your group.

As to travel. I am flying Delta's flight 791 which leaves Atlanta at 12.25 Wednesday (mid-day) and gets to Love Field Dallas at 2.03 Wednesday, p.m. I hope to hop a plane ride (they say that's done, though nobody saves space - you just get your ticket written Ft. Worth and hop) to Aymon Carter Field, and could understake to be at Aymon Carter by plane or by limousine by three-fifteen W dnesday afternoon. Of if you prefer I could get myself to some spot in Downtown Fort Worth by say three-thirty, Wednesday afternoon. Had you rather have me at Aymon Carter to be taken to Camp Carter, or should I start from downtown Fort Worth, or would you wish me to thread my way (which I could doubtless do) to Camp Carter. I'm a good threader, but I would need some hints.

I'm here in my office all day tomorrow, Tuesday, and till 11 A.M. EAS time W dnesday. If you will wire or p hone me at Walnut 1821 or Walnut 7963 (both this office) I'll know what to do.

Supposed to head back this way from Love Field at 4.30 PM. Thursday. So & I'm at your service Thursday monring.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. S. M. Lynch
Executive Secretary-Treasurer
Tennessee Industrial Union Council
821 Second Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Lynch:

Good news to get from Paul Christopher your $2.00 contribution to the Southern Regional Council. We will send you our small magazine, New South, for a year, and will hope you will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - SRC Official Receipt $2.00
cc: Mr. Paul Christopher

James P. Williams
1117 Lanchmont Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your letter of October 10, 1955, concerning information has been referred to me.

Enclosed is a pamphlet on school integration which contains a list of organizations working in this field. Also, the Southern School News, P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, has a monthly publication devoted to the subject of school desegregation.

Included in the enclosed material is the Council's publication list. Perhaps you may be interested in some of the material included.

The Kentucky affiliate of the Council is located in your city. Perhaps you would like to contact Mr. Hugh Brimm, the executive director. His address is 1319 Heyburn Building, Louisville.

If we can be of any additional aid to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

encls.

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

Reverend Samuel H. Hay
First Presbyterian Church
Morristown, Tennessee

Dear Reverend Hay:

Thank you for your order, which has been mailed separately.

The Southern Regional Council and the NAACP are separate and distinct organizations, each with its own particular personnel, program, and approach. The NAACP, as you know, stresses legal action and carries on its program nationally. The Southern Regional Council works through educational means and is wholly Southern in its make-up and area of operation. Our relations with the NAACP are friendly, however, and we regard it as an honorable and effective organization.

We do have an affiliate in Tennessee, called the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. As you will see from the copy of its promotion leaflet enclosed, it is an independent organization of Tennesseans voluntarily affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. I am sure the Tennessee Council would welcome your interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys
Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MARTIN QUIGLEY
211 NORTH FOURTH STREET
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

OCTOBER 19 MEETING OKAY ASSUMING I CAN CONVENIENTLY MAKE 4:40 PM RETURN FLIGHT. REGARDS.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

As Chairman of the ______________________________
(name of organization)
I hereby certify that said organization, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, has not, during the fiscal year 1 October 1954 - 30 September 1955, engaged in carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempted to influence legislation, or otherwise engaged in any form of political activity.

____
State Chairman

______________________ date

______________________________ State

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Miss Thelma Stevens
National College for Christian Workers
Kansas City, Missouri

ARRIVING AT AIRPORT TONIGHT ABOUT MIDNIGHT AND THE COLLEGE SHORTLY AFTER. HOPING FOR BED TONIGHT IN PREPARATION FOR NATIONAL SEMINAR PARTICIPATION TUESDAY,XXX WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY.

GEORGE S. MITHCELL

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Miss Florence Irving
615 South East Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

Personnel committee confirmed your employment. Looking forward to coming with us.

John Constable

CITIES APPOINTING INTERRACIAL COMMITTEES TO STUDY INTEGRATION

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Forsyth County
Moore County (~~[illegible]~~ Carthage)
Winston-Salem

KENTUCKY

Danville
Fayette County

TEXAS

Houston

VIRGINIA

Norfolk

MARYLAND

Annapolis (unofficial)

TENNESSEE

Nashville
Chattanooga
Oak Ridge

Encl. Ltr to Esther Stamats

Mr. I. H. Burney
P. O. Box 660
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Burney:

You very kindly wrote us April 6th that you would do what you could to raise the $100 that the Executive Committee hoped that members of the Board could send in by September, 1955.

I send this small reminder of your kind intent in order that as your plans for the Fall mature you will not fail to remember that item.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Chairman of State Organizations
FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations
SUBJECT: Board of Directors membership

We have long urged that the Board of Directors of the State Organizations be representative of the State's population. The list below should be given to your nominating committees for consideratiom in chosing nominees for Board membership in your state.

We must constantly seek to strengtheh our State Organizations Boards of Directors and see to it that it operates as an integrated (not just bi-racial) body.

CROSS SECTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE

A. Mass Media of Communication
  - Papers
  - Radio
  - T.V.

B. Labor
  - A. F. of L.
  - CIO
  - Independents

C. Business
  - Industry
  - Banking
  - Retail merchants

D. Religious groups
  - Catholic
  - Jewish
  - Protestant

E. Racial Groups
  - Negro Leadership
  - Indians
  - Asian-Americans

F. Ethnic Groups
  - Puerto Ricans
  - Mexicans
  - Island People

G. Education
  - Public Schools
  - Parochial Schools - Private Sch.
  - Colleges and Universities

H. Government
  - Law enforcement
  - Executive Branch

I. Other Good Will Agencies

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

St. Louis Public Schools
Instruction Department
St. Louis, Mo.

Please send us the item(s) listed below in the quantity indicated.

Payment is being made as follows:

______ 1. in stamps coin check enclosed.

______ 2. Please bill.

Quantity	Item
50	"The St. Louis Story" The Integration of a Public School System

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden

Anna Holden
~~Information~~ Assistant

Mr. Ernest A. T. Barth
303C - Alumni Building
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Barth:

I will be near Chapel Hill and in the town in the course of a meeting we are having at Camp New Hope, June 1st, 2nd, and 3rd.

If you could have the material about the Commission on Equal Penalties in a bundle at that time, I would pick it up and by doing some lugging save some postage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Guy B. Johnson

Mr. Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third St.
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Mr. Jones:

I think the enclosed correspondence is self-explanatory.

I would like to note that Rev. Everline held a state-wide planning meeting of about twenty leaders from the Emanuel Evangelical and Reformed Church in February "to study the present state of the Supreme Court decision and proposals being made to bring the spirit of the decision into practical reality." From his letter of April 13, I gather that this statewide conference has been followed by a series of meetings throughout the state.

I trust that you will get in touch with Rev. Everline at your earliest conveniance.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Information Assistant

cc Fred Routh
C. H. Parrish

Florida Executive Committee

President: Dr. Paul F. Finner
930 W. Park
Tallahassee, Fla.

V. President: Mr. W.C. Taylor
P.O. Box 484
Belle Glade, Fla.

Treasurer: Mrs. I.H. Burney
1187 West 10th
Jacksonville, Fla.

Sec. Mrs. Nathan Starr
1326 N.W. 10th Ave.
Gainsville, Fla.

Mr. L.M. Kidd, Florida A. & M. University, Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr. Hollis Rinehart, 815 Ingraham Building, Miami, Fla.

Mr. H. Davidson, Daytona Beach News-Journal, Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dr. D. Dunlap, Barnett National Bank Bldg., Jacksonville

The Honorable Brooks Hays
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brooks:

I want you to look through the index and read the last sentence in a booklet I send you called Changing Patterns in the New South. That is not too much to ask you. I suggest that your secretary stick it on your desk and pin on something that says "Look at the index and read the last sentence." Then if you get a chance to speak well of the book in useful places, we would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Changing Patterns in the New South under separate
cover this date.

Nine months have elapsed since the historic decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases. During that interval there has been ample opportunity for public opinion to find expression and for state policy to crystallize into proposed legislation inspired by the decisions. In only four Southern states -- Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina -- has there been officially expressed determination to preserve a segregated school system regardless of the decisions. The remaining affected states have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, or have already begun compliance, or have made preparations to comply.

The four dissident states do not appear to have concerted on policy, since their proposals for non-compliance are not identical in nature, though having certain features in common. Their objective is, of course, the same: the continuance of a segregated school system by employment of legal stratagems which, it is hoped by their advocates, would stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds.

The plans thus far proposed may be summarized as follows:

1. The conveyance or lease of school property to individuals or corporations for the purpose of conducting private segregated schools.

2. State grants of tuition to individual pupils attending such schools.

3. Conferring blanket authority upon school boards of trustees to assign pupils to schools.

4. In South Carolina, the setting up of a tri-school system with one school for whites, one for Negroes and one for members of both races with the right to the pupil to determine which school he will attend.

5. The gerrymandering of school district lines in such a way that only white residents would live in the area of the white school and only Negro residents would live in the area of the Negro school.

Such, in brief, are the best expedients which advocates of continued segregation have been able to devise. The vast perils and difficulties attendant upon such courses of action are obvious.

The grant or lease of hundreds of millions of dollars of public property; the termination of employment of hundreds of teachers who have moral, if not legal, rights to continued tenure and vested interests in retirement funds; the striking down by one act of standards governing operation of schools, standards developed by decades of study and experience; the surrender by the states of any control over the qualifications of teachers: such are among the palpable, evident and grave evils inherent in a state's attempt to withdraw from the field of public education.

The tuition grant plan, under which the state pays a pupil's tuition at a private school presents its own serious questions. The schools would necessarily operate without instructional supervision by the state. Would such schools, so operating, meet academic standards so that children who attended them would be able to secure admittance to colleges and professional schools? Apart from the question of the degree of respect diplomas from such schools would receive from reputable colleges and universities, would the pupils of such hastily established and unsupervised institutions receive the quality of education to which they are entitled? Would the state receive full value for its tuition dollar? Would not such a system lend itself to widespread imposition on the state by parents and guardians?

Implicit in the grant of blanket authority to trustees to assign pupils to schools is the intent that residence near a school would be no guarantee of attendance at such school. The convenience of parents and pupils might be completely disregarded at the whim of trustees. Bus schedules and routes would become a major problem under a system by which a single child living within a hundred yards of a school must be hauled twenty miles to another school. The cost of transportation would be greatly increased. The child's opportunity to perform helpful home and farm tasks in before-school and after-school hours is diminished with each unnecessary mile he is transported.

It has been generally admitted by advocates of segregation that maintenance of a dual system of schools greatly increased the expense and difficulties of school operation. The tri-school plan, suggested in South Carolina, would further increase the burden. It must be borne in mind that all three schools would have to provide completely equal facilities and instruction even if only a handful of pupils should attend one of the three schools.

The establishment of school district lines in the rural south so that only whites would live in one district and only Negroes in another is so obviously impossible that the plan may be dismissed without comment.

Such are the proposed plans and some of the practical questions they present.

But there remains a far larger question: Would any of these plans stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds? That question has lately been thoroughly considered by three competent Southern authorities. Reference is had to an article by Prof. James C. N. Paul, of the University of North Carolina, "The Decision and Some Alternatives - A Legal Analysis," published by the University's Institute of Government; "The Legal Standing of the South's School Resistance Proposals" by Prof. Francis B. Nicholson of the College of Law of Stetson University, published in the Fall, 1954, issue of *The South Carolina Law Quarterly*; and "A Legal View of Segregation Plans" by Dean John T. Fey of the George Washington Law School, published in *New South* of September, 1954. These scholarly and dispassionate articles should be required reading for Southern legislators now grappling with the region's school problems.

Prof. Paul points out that for the private school plan to meet the constitutional test there must be no form of "state action" in connection with the establishment, maintenance, operation or subsidization of such schools. The attempt to divorce the state from various enterprises, so that it might retain all the supposed benefits of unconstitutional action without in a legal sense being a party to the action, has recently been been before the Supreme Court. The cases analyzed by Prof. Paul involve racial restrictive covenants in deeds, primary elections and labor unions. Following the analysis, Prof. Paul writes:

> It is readily apparent from the above that there is no square precedent or "rule of law" to settle the private school issue. The problem is one of deciding whether there is or is not "state action" in the operation of the school. And the cases have not tackled this issue by discussing the "state action" doctrine in abstract terms. Still, some generalizations may perhaps be offered. *The cases show that labels mean little; nor is it decisive that an alleged racial discrimination has been wrought by some person or group which occupies no official relationship with the state*. All of the cases are distinguishable. But it is also apparent that the hypothetical free private school case which has been posed would partake of many of the very elements which led the Court to find "state action" in the activities of other private groups involved in those cases. And this combination of factors might induce a decision *which would forbid the free private school* -- organized along the *lines discussed -- to deny admission to otherwise qualified Negroes who sought to attend them*. (Emphasis added)

Prof. Nicholson's conclusion after discussion of all the proposed evasion tactics is even more explicit:

> The South's attempts to circumvent the school decision seem doomed to legal failure. The Court has ample theories to utilize in avoiding all circumvention proposals -- ranging from the relatively simple state instrumentality concept to the all-permeating doctrine of *Shelley v. Kraemer* . . . The proponents of the circumvention proposals could well afford, however to measure the probabilities existing before acting hastily and irrevocably. Time has already been gained since the school cases were first filed. Additional time has been wisely granted by the Court before it will attempt to make its decrees final. The effects of the decision have been measured by the South's people. Is it possible that they would be willing to admit Negroes in the scattered instances where admission would be demanded? This question should at least be pondered and its answer measured against the apparent futility of the evasive proposals and their only profit as delaying steps. (Emphasis added)
>
> Perhaps common sense compromise between the more militant groups, a tactic not hitherto used in the South's racial conflicts, would be the best approach in this time of crisis.

Prof. Fey's article outlines all of the devices proposed for evading the consequences of the decisions. Such devices must stand or fall ultimately upon their having or not having an element of "state action." Recent decisions are analyzed:

> Such is the present status of the legal concept of "state action" -- the area in which private school plans will be tested. All of the plans suggested present a possibility of the existence of state action. (Emphasis added)

Prof. Fey then develops eight legal theories which, in his view, would sustain an attack upon the constitutionality of the plans. He concludes:

> Plans used during the transition which conflict with the decided cases can only be regarded as temporary expedients. There can be no forestalling of integration in view of the existing decisions. (Emphasis added)

Analogous to the school segregation issue is the issue of segregation in public recreation. That question is the subject of a brief, "Segregation and Public Recreation," by Prof. Robert B. McKay in the Virginia Law Quarterly for October, 1954.

Prof. McKay points out that the effort to escape the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination had taken the form of conveyance or lease of golf courses, swimming pools, and the like, to private individuals or corporations, which carried on the interdicted practices. The court had had no difficulty in finding the element of state action in such procedures with the result that they were invalidated.

The Supreme Court in Love vs. Wilson said that the 14th and 15th Amendments nullify "sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination." The plans proposed for circumvention of the decisions in the school segregation cases do not seem to have even the legal merit of sophistication.

The articles herein discussed are not by "outsiders meddling in Southern affairs." They are by Southerners subjecting the region's problems to disinterested and scholarly analysis.

The question for the South seems to be: Shall we disrupt a system built up over the years and destroy a wealth of accumulated values by adopting devices of such doubtful constitutionality that they are condemned in advance by the most competent Southern legal opinion?

Frederick B. Routh -- Florida Trip
Feb. 7 -- Feb. 16

Mon., Feb. 7	Tallahassee
Tues., Feb. 8	Gainesville
Wed., Feb. 9	Orlando
Thurs., Feb. 10	Tampa and St. Pete
Fri. Feb. 11	Miami
Sat., Feb. 12	Home - Coral Gables
Sun., Feb. 13	" " "
Mon. Feb. 14	Jacksonville
Tues., Feb. 15	"
Wed., Feb. 16	Return to Atlanta

Reverend Carl R. Pritchett
First Presbyterian Church
Anderson, South Carolina

Dear Carl:

Everywhere I go people very kindly ha
me little slips saying that such and such a p
in such and such a town is like-minded.

Here's a slip I have been carrying ar
for several months. I would not send you the
slip, except that I cannot read the address.

I don't know Miss Carolyn, but suppos
you can find out whether she is someone suita
to add to your circle or not.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

To: Fred Routh

Marion Wright suggested to me in October, 1954 that young Chester Davis be considered for membership on the Board.

Reverend R. C. Falconer
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Reverend Falconer:

We are extremely grateful to you for the check for $25.00 which Mr. Wright sent on to us. We are applying it to the Commission on Equal Facilities in Courts of Law, which is particularly in need of help.

Marion Wright has told me of news in general of your visit to Linville Falls.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

an original
~~copy~~ of this letter sent to each Board member
EAB

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Attorney-at-Law
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

Two things. The yellow one please read with care. The white one you should have and may care to read. It is a review of the Southern Regional Council's program for the last three months.

The Board will meet November 10, 1954, presumably in Atlanta. Please save the date.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Mrs. A. H. Sterne
132 Westminster Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Sterne:

Here's a copy of the new pamphlet. I do hope that the Council and others of your friends will like it and use it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. (sent under separate cover)

Mr. Ernest Mason Howell
309 West 100th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Howell:

The people at the Fund for the Republic sent on to me Mr. Ernest W. Lefever's letter to Mr. Charles B. Marshall with biographical data attached to it.

I appreciate your interest in the Southern Regional Council.

Except for some positions in the gift of the new State Divisions, which we are launching, there is virtually no new employment within the Southern Regional Council. And the states, I am pretty sure, will choose people who have had long connections with Alabama or Mississippi, or whichever.

We would certainly be the better off if we had some way to avail ourselves of your rich experiences.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to: Mr. Frank Loescher

The Honorable J. William Fulbright
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Fulbright:

Please accept my long over-due expression of appreciation for the opportunity to talk with you on May 11th.

A copy of The Negro and The Schools is being sent to you under separate cover.

As consideration is given to the advantage to the South itself -- as well as to the nation -- inherent in the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17th, we believe the region will accept and use the opportunities before it.

We are grateful for your interest in these matters.

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: JC

From: EFV

Mr. Ted O. Thackery who used to be with the Compass in New York and editor of the New York Post is now with the Lakeland Ledger in Lakeland, Florida. His name probably should be put on the complementary NEW SOUTH list and also be included among your press contacts.

All of this presupposes that you do not have this name in your files at this point.

-:-

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: HCF

From: EFV

Do we know of the survey of racial attitudes run by Yale or Princeton group - at least one of them was done in Greensboro where about thirty leadership people had their role analyzed with correlations being made to factors such as how well-read and their formal education. This strikes a vaguely familiar note with me; but I was wondering if some report of this survey might not be useful to us. One of my labor contacts, Scott Hoyman, TWUA in Greensboro was one of the people interviewed and it is my understanding that he has a copy of the preliminary findings. If you feel that we should have a peek-see let me know and I'll try to arrange it.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: RA

From: EFV

Re: Check from Earl Crowder

The attached check for $50.00 made out to the Southern Regional Council was for tuition, room, and board at the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. Mr. Crowder left the Institute before we could get this matter handled properly. His fees due to Fisk were only $40.00, which I have paid by my own personal check. The $10.00 which he is due has also been paid by my personal check. Therefore, SRC owes me $50.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: HF

From: FBR

Through clever manipulation I figure I have saved the Council $20.75. Let me explain:

Detroit to Atlanta (round trip)	$88.00
Atlanta to Wabhington, to Nashville, to Atlanta	101.77
Atlanta to Savannah (round trip)	37.29
Total	$227.06

The UAW is paying $88.00; Penn Community Center, $37.29; and SRC would pay under the above schedule the $101.77. However, the total bill is $206.31 and subtracting $88.00 and $37.29 from this leaves $81.02 - pretty good, eh, dad? OK??

P. S.

I will be magnanimous and not even ask to split the difference... Happy vacation!!

Carbon copy to PA and RA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: BC

From EFV

Please put the following on the complimentary NEW SOUTH mailing list (authorised by EFV):

Mr. Dave Burgess
The American Embassy
New Delhi, India

I would suggest that the last issue and the voting study be sent to him immediately.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: FBR

From: EFV

I have sent the following materials to:

Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Santaggelo
1328 - B
South George Mason Drive
Arlington, Virginia

May issue of NEW SOUTH
Printed list of the Council members
Congressional reprint of Senatior Douglas' comments on SRC
A copy of the voting study

These people are anxious to be associated with any good moves in the Arlington area. You should inform them of the appropriate people with whom they should have contact.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Santangelo attended the University of North Carolina, and Mrs. Santangelo is a native of Chapel Hill.

MEMO TO HCF

From: MM

Re: EVIDENCE OF IMPROVED ECONOMIC AND WELFARE STATUS OF NEGRO IN FLORIDA

1. It is possible that Mr. Kytle could use some of our clip file material not specifically reporting on Florida (such as James Mitchell's, READER'S DIGEST, "The Negro Moves Up," 1956 FORTUNE and BUSINESS WEEK articles) and I'll have them copied if you think they'll be helpful.

2. Information which can be secured in Florida/ (and concerning Florida exclusively) includes:

a. Mortality Rates - The Department of Commerce in Jacksonville will supply on request monthly reports of mortality and birth rates, with a racial breakdown.

b. Personal Income - The Department of Commerce publication, Supplement to Survey of Current Business, lists personal income and source of income, and is the latest information available. No racial division is made, however, but the source of income will be of some help (the type of occupation is evidently listed). The librarian at the Georgia office of the Commerce Department suggests that both income and mortality figures will be most helpful when compared to like figures from other states.

c. Education - U. S. Census of Population - Bulletin P-C10. (1950), Table 65, Page 171-173. The following sampling from this table indicates the increase in median years of school completed during the 20 years from 1925 to 1945, approximately.

Non-white Urban Female - 25 and over

Age Group	Median Years of School Completed
25 - 29	8.5
30 - 34	7.7
35 - 39	7.1
40 - 44	6.4

(increase from 6.4 to 8.5 school years in 20 year range.)

d. Housing - U. S. Census - Housing - Bulletin H-A10. (1950).
(1) Tables 2 and 3 - Page 10-5. Tables show that the percentage of non-white owner occupied dwelling units in the state increased from 26.1 in 1940 to 39.6 in 1950.

(2) Table 16 - Page 10-17.
  (a) 1950 Median value of owner occupied dwelling units (non-white, urban): $2,873.00. (In Georgia the figure is only 2,193.)
  (b) ~~(2)~~ The same table indicates that 4,591 Urban and Rural Non-Farm owner-occupied dwelling units (non-white) were valued above $6,000.00.

3. I haven't been able to trace information on lowered crime rates, or on values of Negro owned business. The Florida state library could probably direct one to the former. Perhaps the latter information could be furnished by the University of Florida's Bureau of Economic and Business Research?

Personal Income and Other Statistics (1958) - Florida University, Bureau of Economic and Business Research.

The Truth About Florida, by Needham Christopher Hines. Florida Research Press. (1957)

Two books which might be helpful are listed in the Atlanta library's file catalogue but both are out (checked again today), so I don't know the exact nature of statistical data, or even whether they include racial breakdowns.

Mr. Harold Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Hal:

I plan to be in Richmond on Wednesday, April 23rd. Although my schedule while there is not fixed I hope to see you, Julian and Brewster.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

materials Sent:
Research Reports.
Housing Discrimination
Open Occupancy Housing
We Refused to Give Up Our Home

Mrs. Fred Patterson
2959 Andrews Drive, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Pursuant to your request by telephone concerning housing discrimination, we are mailing you copies of some material from our files.

If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

corrected on original

MEMORANDUM

To: P. Anthony
F. Routh
E. Via

From: H. Fleming

Re: **David Scull's forthcoming visit to Atlanta.**

Note to Paul Anthony:

Paul, please note attached letter from Scull and make necessary reservations.

Note to Fred Routh and/or Emory Via:

Will one of you coordinate this letter with Phern Stanley.

EFV - you are our Quaker representative

THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY EFFORT: A DEFINITION

It has now been more than a year since we, the Southern staff members of agencies concerned with human relations, first met to consider our common problems and opportunities. Having found our periodic conferences productive of field cooperation and the sharing of information and program plans, we feel it is timely to reduce to writing a brief definition of this Southern coordinating effort as it has evolved:

(1) The cooperative effort of Southern field staff members may most appropriately be referred to by the name that has developed as a matter of convenient usage -- the Southern Interagency Conference.

(2) Most of our parent organizations are participants in the national Consultative Conference on Desegregation; we wish to cooperate in the implementation of the CCD's objectives in every way consistent with the policies of our respective organizations and with our conception of the role of the Southern Interagency Conference.

(3) The strength of our cooperation lies in the periodic consultation among staff members with common concerns based in the Southern region. These consultations are informal and off-the-record in nature, and participation in the Southern interagency conferences involves no organizational commitment or publicity of any kind.

(4) We shall continue to regard the areas of our information sharing and program cooperation as including any of the functions in which we engage on behalf of our respective agencies -- public information, fact-finding, community relations, inter-religious activity, consultative services, assistance to victims of pressure or reprisal, etc.

2/28/58

MEMORANDUM

From: M. F.

To: RHA
ALR
FCL
LEC
MM
and other staff members

The new address for the South Carolina Council on Human Relations is as follows:

1745 Sumter Street
Room 100
Columbia, South Carolina

FILE COPY

COPY

Mr. John M. Brumm, Chairman
AFT 189 Election Committee
Machinists Building
1300 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

It is with regret that I find that I will not be able to attend the AFT Convention in August to which I have been elected as a delegate from Local 189.

Necessary work committments prevent my being in Chicago at that time. I trust that there will be time to secure an alternate delegate.

Best personal wishes.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via

EFV:fc

cc: Ben Segal
Jack Sessions

Rev. Samuel Williams
School of Religion
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rev. Williams:

I am enclosing the Thermo-Fax copies of the church statements. I am sorry some of the copies are dim, but the typing was rather light in some cases, and it was impossible to secure darker copies.

The charge, at 5¢ per sheet, is $1.50.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

May 21, 1951

MEMORANDUM

To: Central Office Staff

From: Emory Via

The National Council of Churches has recently released a 16 mm. color film, with sound, entitled, "The Broken Mask." This film deals in a fairly dramatic way with the problem of a prejudiced white youth coming into contact with a Negro youth in a summer church camp or institute. The film moves from this association to the college town where both youths are enrolled in school. "Unthinkingly" the Negro youth is invited to the church of the white youth - now that prejudice between the two is gone - and subsequently, the Negro youth is invited to join the church. This causes, shall we say, a furor. The film goes on to indicate that there really is a reaction in the congregation; the stand of the minister - forthrightly for Christ. Part of the punch of the film is that it gives some indication of the personal trials and tribulations which the Negro youth undergoes, and it also scores the point that whites have a positive role to play in the "pushing" process. This film did not set at all well with the two Chemical Workers who sat in on our preview of it at the Lake Junaluska school; however, I think that you should know that it is available, and even though it seems to be aimed at Northern church groups who need to consider taking Negroes into their congregations, it may well be that there are a number of places where it could be used in the South.

HCF
FBR
MET✓
JC

Memo to: LB
PA
MM

From: FBR

All mail being sent to Hy Lewis should be sent to his home address:

64 Seaver Street
Boston (Roxbury), Mass.

HCF
JC
PA
RHA
FBI
BC

MEMO TO THE STAFF

Hugh Brimm has been selected by the Kentucky Council as part-time Executive Director. His address is:

Dr. Hugh A. Brimm
2801 Lexington Road
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Phone: TWinbrook 6-8311 or
TWinbrook 5-1558.

A new card should be made out for the card file and New South list.

AIR MAIL

Mr. Nicholas J. Demerath
Director
The Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Nick:

Mighty good to hear from you, and of course I greatly appreciate your kind words about the new job. It is demanding, even beyond my expectations, but all of us feel that our new orientation is starting off pretty promisingly.

I hope you are finding your own new work satisfying and that we will find some opportunity to renew our cooperative relationship. When I see a chance, I will be writing you. Meanwhile if you are to be in these parts at any time, don't fail to let me know.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

DOMESTIC SERVICE Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mayflower Hotel

Washington, D.C.

Please reserve single with bath for C. H. Parrish at 4:00 p. m. today.

Wire confirmation collect.

C. H. Parrish
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Av. N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Ga.

MEMORANDUM

TO: G.S.M.

FROM: FBR

Have just talked with C. H. The situation in Kentucky is changing rapidly and he and Atwood Steele of the Urban League and Perry met last night and discussed the future of the Kentucky Council. They are going to push for state employment of a team of their Consultants to assist with the process of desegregation on the state level and in specific communities.

The Board of the Kentucky Council is going to review the entire program and determine whether they will continue with an Executive Director as well as the Consultant Program. He will inform us more fully of the details when he comes down Wednesday for the Conference with Marion Wright.

MEMO

TO: HCF

FROM: GSM

RE: DORIS DUKE FOUNDATION grant

I notice that in Sophie Van S. Theis' letter sending the $7,000, she said that her Board made the gift as a terminal grant. So that is the end of money from that source for the research program. But let us conspire for alternative continuation.

John Hope

TO: RUTH ALEXANDER

RE: JOHN HOPE'S CHECK

The $1000 should be paid from last year's unexpended balance.

The authority for paying it is letters written by Marion Wright and Rufus Clement saying we could. Also note that Herman Long says make the check payable to Race Relations Department.

MEMORANDUM

TO: GSM

FROM: Dorothy Tilly

RE: FUTURE OF SRC

The future of the Southern Regional Council as to finances seems dark -- but the future is bright with challenging opportunities and most definitely with direct responsibilities of SRC to help the South through the difficult days of adjusting itself to the inevitable enforcement of the Supreme Court decisions.

Never has there been more need of SRC than there will be in the next few years. To retrench would amount almost to betrayal of our section and of those organizations and individuals who have, through the years, sought direction from it.

Poor indeed will the South be without SRC with the field left to a Regional setup of the Citizen's Council.

I believe a Finance Committee, really feeling the seriousness of the situation in the South (the defiance of the supreme law of the land, the fear, intimidation, and terror engendered by the Citizen's Councils) and seeing in the situation the opportunities and challenges to the SRC could speak so convincingly they would secure the funds needed.

NEEDS:

(1) The State Councils will not be able to stand alone in another year or so without a coordinating and directing Central agency, therefore, the Central office needs to be strengthened by both staff and space.

(2) Yearly Conferences of several days for each of the following

Southwide groups. Leaders in field of Social Sciences, Church Women, heads of denominational Boards of Education.

(3) We should face the fact that our publications, for the most part, reach only those whose social conscience is already quickened. However, these will continue to need something like New South. There should be found someway to reach the masses so easily persuaded by the propoganda of such organizations as the Citizens' Council. Simple factual material tied up some way with their Bible Belt South, I believe could be just as effective as Talmadge "Statesman", etc. This too, calls for more finances, but if it can be done -- it will strengthen the appeal for funds. (Talmadge spent one half million on trying to extend the County unit system to general elections. The other side $13,000 and won.)

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY
By Wilson Record

****

"The SCHW was organised in Birmingham, Alabama, in November, 1938. The Party, in line with its program of unifying "all the progressive forces in the South," participated in the preliminary efforts to establish the new agency. In addition, it sent s number of delegates to the Birmingham meeting and was further represented through some of the trade union and youth organizations which it controlled. The Party, however, did not play the key role in the organization or procedures of the first SCHW meeting. The initative came primarily from the Southern Policy Committee, which included white liberals and labor leaders, educators and churchmen, with a number of Negroes participating in a somewhat informal capacity.

****

"...There was a tendency at that time, one which has increased in recent years, to credit formation and initial control of the SCHW to the Party itself. To suggest that this was the case, however, is to misunderstand the nature and composition of the 1938 Conference, and greatly to overestimate Party influence in the South. The Party later captured the organization, but its initial influence was limited."

****

"Communist spokesmen and delegates at the 1940 meeting of the SCHW, under the direction of Rob F. Hall, Party Secretary for Alabama, attempted to force through the Conference an eight-point "uncompromising" peace policy. The Communists, however, were forcefully opposed by many of the labor and liberal groups under the leadership of President Frank Graham. Debate on the Party's proposals became very bitter and at one point fist fights threatened. The SCHW went on record as opposing war appropriations at the expense of the underprivileged people of the South, but at the same time it condemned aggression by Communists as well as Nazis.

"The 1940 meeting led to further schisms within the SCHW, from which it was never completely to recover. Some groups thought that the Communists controlled the Chattanooga meeting and viewed the resolution on war and foreign policy as an indirect indorsement of the Party position. While few groups officially withdrew from the Conference, their support was lost for all practical purposes. The resolutions adopted on such issues as civil rights, labor, welfare, farm tenancy and others were similar to those of the first meeting of 1938. They represented a continuation of the program worked out at Birmingham, on which there had been an impressive amount of agreement. While the Party applauded these decisions and commended the work of the Conference in the economic and political fields, it was far from satisfied with the foreign policy program. Hall, for example, declared:

> "'There were weaknesses in the Chattanooga conference, due partly to the failure of honest progressives to orient themselves to the new situation caused by the outbreak of the imperialist war and the abandonment of the New Deal by Roosevelt, and partly due to the failure of labor to come forward boldly to give leadership to the movement.'"

TO: R.H.S. & G. S.A.

All expenditures on account of John Hope and the program which he supervises (consultants and training for the State programs) are to be charged to unexpended State balances for fiscal year 54-55; including expenditures already made (for this purpose only) on fiscal year 55-56.

Mr. William S. Howland
TIME, Inc.
Rhodes-Haverty Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

I promised to put down for you some of the facts that might make SRC a fit subject for an article.

One useful point is that the SRC is no Johnny-come-lately. While the hate groups are mushrooming afresh in response to the school decisions, here is a 35-year-old movement of native Southerners quietly stepping up its efforts for interracial progress. As successor to the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the SRC goes back to the end of World War One. The movement has been realistic and practical; hence, the evolution from concern with lynching and the grosser manifestations of prejudice in the early days to the current concern with desegregation. This realism is directly related to the kind of Southern leadership the movement has attracted through the years -- a story in itself. The founders of the SRC proper were such people as Howard Odum, Ralph McGill, and Charles Johnson.

Realism has also dictated lack of fanfare. We like the way Hodding Carter summed it up in a magazine article: "The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy pronunciamentos slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's -- or from the nation's concern."

A good many examples from the past -- such as the "Race in the News" effort (see Time) -- could be cited to illustrate the technique of quiet, unspectacular persuasion through which SRC has tried to work. But more to the point is the current situation, which presents a new kind of challenge to this sobersided indigenous movement. Circumstances are thrusting the SRC forward both as the whipping boy of the demagogues and as the black-and-white hope of liberal Southerners of both races, to say nothing of national partisans.

For one thing, SRC is no longer the shoe-string operation it once was. To date, the Fund for the Republic has given the organization $390,000. The nature of the grant is such that it lays on us an enormously heavier burden of fund-raising than before -- but at least it is financial struggle on a higher and more productive plane. Most of the Fund money has been earmarked for distribution to state organizations affiliated with the SRC. The main purpose of the grant was to enable SRC to establish and/or strengthen human relations groups in 12 Southern states. The aim is to get them strong enough in professional staff, membership, and lay leadership so that they can be fully self-supporting by late 1957. We can hope for one more (diminished) grant from the Fund, and then no more.

This is a whopping job. It meant starting almost from scratch in most states. Some of the state groups (like the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation) also date back to 1919, but most of them have languished for years without money or staff for a real action program. SRC's job was to galvanize these vestigial groups into strong, effective, self-supporting agencies in a very short time. Moreover, it has had to be done while the shells were bursting in air; for the state-aid program didn't get under way until October 1954, when the school segregation controversy was already hot.

Meanwhile, too, the SRC has carried on its customary regional functions: getting out information to the press and the public, supplying speakers to a host of audiences, counselling church and civic groups on their race relations programs, briefing foreign visitors on the South's "peculiar institutions," staging conferences and workshops, etc.

All this on the part of an organization of native Southerners is, in some ways, more galling than the NAACP to the professional segregationists. And so the attackers grow, in numbers and in influence -- from Blake Craft four years ago, to Roy Harris two years ago, to Gene Cook and Marvin Griffin today. (For simplicity, I omit the hate groups elsewhere in the South, plus the Hearst foray.) Having been for years in danger of being branded a "tool of the Vatican," SRC is now charged with "fronting" for the NAACP and the Communist Party. Cook boasts that he is investigating, and warns all the good, duped people to clear out now before he blows the SRC out of the tub. The fireworks may come at the next session of the legislature.

So far the sniping hasn't scared off any good folks that we know of. Here are a few examples of state group activity:

ITEM: A few days after Cook gave his kindly warning to all good people in Georgia to dissociate themselves from the SRC and its Georgia affiliate, a committee of prominent church men and women called on Gov. Griffin in the name of these disreputable organizations. Included were the heads of the Georgia Council of Churches, the Georgia Churchwomen, and the Southern Presbyterian Church; Bishop Arthur Moore sent his wholehearted endorsement with the group. They urged the Governor to appoint a "truly representative" committee of fifty white and Negro Georgians to seek agreement on the school segregation question. Griffin refused, so the Georgia Committee is working to provide at least a private meeting ground at both the statewide and local levels. Guy Wells, former president of GSCW and past state governor of Rotary, has carried the message of the Georgia Committee into dozens of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs throughout Georgia.

ITEM: Even in the die-hard states, SRC's affiliates have both white and Negro staff members, who offer a working demonstration that the two races can perform together as equals without dire results. Four of the state directors, incidentally, are ministers.

ITEM: Several months ago, a mob of angry white men descended on a small Congregational college in Wadley, Ala., and forced several Negro preachers to clear out. The director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was on the scene the next day and succeeded in getting a local interracial council appointed by the Mayor "to promote harmony and peaceful settlement of all future problems arising in our community." In the same mediating role, the Alabama Council brought together the principals in the Montgomery bus boycott by Negroes. The meeting found no immediate solution, but at least representatives of the bus company, the Negro community, and the City sat down together for the first time and exchanged points of view.

ITEM: In Virginia, the Gray Commission on Segregation recommended that the Old Dominion join the Deep South states in all-out defiance of the Supreme Court's rulings. When the Gray Report appeared on the front page of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, it was balanced in a parallel column by a report of the Virginia Council on Human Relations proposing a "calm step-by-step approach" to compliance. The Virginia Council is currently seeking to develop a program under which open-minded local school superintendents may visit cities where school desegregation is in effect and study problems and procedures at first hand.

ITEM: Following a visit by George Mitchell, the Mayor and City Council of Rock Hill, S.C., appointed a local council on human relations of 21 persons, including five Negroes. Since then, nearly two years ago, a Negro has been appointed to the city recreation commission, and the human relations group has reported to the City Council its findings on a broad range of community conditions affecting Negroes. Foreign visitors, on USIA tours, have visited Rock Hill to observe this constructive approach by a Southern community.

ITEM: Early in November, the Texas Commission on Race Relations revealed publicly for the first time the slaying of a Negro high school boy in Gregg County, apparently over a desegregation dispute. The Texas Commission called on the governor and state attorney general for "immediate law enforcement action." The human relations group also circularized all preachers in the state to use their influence in curbing violence in their areas.

ITEM: The Kentucky Council on Human Relations has made its professional consultants available to school officials of several desegregating communities. It has also presented panel discussions by white and Negro "experts" before the state's school administrators, on radio and television.

ITEM: In embattled Chattanooga, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations sponsored a one-day workshop, well attended by business people, church leaders, and others of both races. The object: to help "clear the air" by providing for "full and free exchange of views."

PROBLEM: Some of the best stories can't be told, at least without disguising the places and the people. For example, off the record, The Arkansas Council on Human Relations saved the day in Hoxie by (1) persuading the school board not to resign; (2) finding able legal counsel for them in a nearby community; (3) performing liaison with Harry Ashmore (a board member of the Arkansas Council) who used his editorial columns to good advantage. In Mississippi and South Carolina, the state groups have investigated incidents of violence and economic pressure and quietly passed on the facts to people in a position to do something; but theirs is an uphill fight carried on mostly in deliberate obscurity.

PICTURES: These would probably have to come mostly from the moderate or advanced places (e. g., cities like Atlanta and Macon in Georgia, the Piedmont cities in North Carolina, and so on.) In Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, it would be possible to show state staff members consulting with school officials. Interracial meetings are possible picture material in most areas of the South. One of the bi-racially staffed offices at work might make a good shot. An interracial group calling on a governor or other high state official could probably be set up in one of the better states.

This is a ragged set of notes, I know, but may be enough for a beginning. Let me know.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming.

Now, we know why they

call Marvin, "Chief"

THOUGHT CONTROL INDIAN PRACTICE

One Pleased With Own Mind Suspicious of Others

By Science Service

BOSTON — Thought control, now regarded as completely un-American, is a native practice of American Indians.

This surprising fact was indicated by a report to the American Anthropoligical Assn. here by Prof. Edward P. Dozier, anthropologist of Northwestern University, who is himself of American Indian ancestry.

Among the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians, the core of their native beliefs and attitudes persists in spite of extensive contacts with Plains Indians, Spanish colonists and Anglo-Americans.

Basic Pueblo belief, Prof. Dozier told the meeting, is that all members of the tribe must work together in co-operation and unity. If any one man holds ill feeling toward anyone else or any group of persons, or even if he dislikes any aspect of the universe or finds it ugly, then it is believed that the balance of the universe is upset. Illness, drought, famine or other misfortunes may afflict the whole tribe.

The Pueblo Indian is constantly searching his own conscience for harmful thoughts or attitudes. But is he is still satisfied with his own state of mind and illness or misfortunes persist, he begins to look into the thoughts and attitudes of his neighbors.

Constant spying on the neighbors and even close relatives is, therefore, a typical Rio Grande Pueblo pattern, Prof. Dozier said.

Richard Bennett,
AFSC,
20, South 12th Street,
Philadelphia,
PENN.

Dear Richard Bennett,

I have to9day sent a letter to Miss Irene Osborne, a copy of which I am enclosing for you to see.

Yours sincerely,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

GSM:rl.
Encl.

Mr. Maceo Smith
2407 Thomas Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Smith:

We have been requested by Mr. Davis McEntire, Research Director of Housing, to arrange an informal one-day conference of people familiar with bi-racial aspects of housing in the South. The purpose of the conference, in Mr. McEntire's words, is to help the Commission "choose the most fruitful foci of research in the South."

This is to invite you to take part in such a meeting in Atlanta on November 21. Final details will be fixed shortly; meanwhile, tentative plans are to hold the meeting at Atlanta University, beginning at 10 A.M. and ending no later than 4 P. M. Travel and other expenses will, of course, be paid by the Commission.

The Commission on Race and Housing, as you may know, is an independent commission recently established under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. Its research office is located in Berkeley, California.

The Commission would be greatly benefitted by your experience with an insight into the problems of housing and race in the South, and we earnestly hope you will find it possible to attend.

Since we are inviting a quite limited number of persons -- no more than twelve -- I will appreciate an early answer from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

Reading File

Southern

Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W

A 30303

n 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

Several persons (specifically, Will Campbell, Joe Hendricks, and Charlie Jones) have asked us, as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, to invite those who wished to prepare a letter of appreciation to Maxwell Hahn.

As you know, Mr. Hahn is retiring at the end of September after many years as Executive Vice-President of the Field Foundation. Mr. Hahn and the Foundation have given guidance and generous support to many, probably most, of the programs in which we have an interest.

It was the feeling of those who made the suggestion that many of us would welcome this opportunity to express our appreciation. Earlier, we had hoped to ask Dr. Frank Graham to issue this invitation. However, Dr. Graham was not immediately available.

If you wish to respond, please send your letters to me. We will have the letters bound and present the collection to Mr. Hahn early in September.

Please share this invitation with as many people as possible so that all appropriate persons know of this. Letters from persons anywhere are welcomed but the purpose of this is primarily to let Mr. Hahn know how much those of us in the South appreciate his interest and help.

PA:mm

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. The SDS Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Convention. The amendment becomes effective immediately if it has been distributed to the membership at least a month before the Convention.

I. The last sentence of the Preamble to the Constitution shall be changed from "It (SDS) feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic right." to "It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision."

II. Article III, Section 2, which reads "S.D.S. is an organization of democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but clear in its opposition to any totalitarian principle as a basis for government or social organization. Advocates or apologists for such a principle are not eligible for membership." shall be changed to read: "S.D.S. is an organization of and for democrats. It is civil libertarian in its treatment of those with whom it disagrees, but is clear in its opposition to any anti-democratic principle as a basis for governmental, social, or political organization."

III. Article III, Section 3, which reads "Dues. There shall be a national initiation of one dollar, supplemented by periodic dues, the amount and period of which shall be determined by the National Council." shall be changed to read: "Dues. The amount and period of national dues shall be determined by the National Council."

IV. The first sentence of Article VI, Section 1, which reads: "The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative elected from each chapter, except that chapters with more than twenty-five members shall have two representatives; (2) ..." shall be changed to read: "The National Council shall be composed of (1) one representative from each chapter for each twenty-five members in that chapter; (2) ..."

V. Article XI, Section 3, which reads "All material sent out in the name of the organization shall have the approval of a majority of the National Council and shall have been submitted to all of the NC members." shall be changed to read: "All statements of organizational policy shall have the approval of the National Council."

Proposed amendments I, II, III, and V are being submitted by Clark Kissinger, National Secretary. Proposed amendment IV is being submitted by Pete Orris of the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter.

NOTICE

A gold watch has disappeared from a purse. This watch has considerable sentimental value. A $25.00 reward is offered for its return, or for information leading to its return. If the watch or any pertinent information is turned over to one of the elevator operators, the reward will be paid -- no questions asked.

Reading file -

Southern R Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W 30303
n 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

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PA:mm

Reading file -

Southern R Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
n 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMO

TO: Directors, State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Under separate cover we are sending you a packet of materials prepared by AFSC and SRC for use by people in their work toward achieving maximum school desegregation for September, 1965.

We are anxious to get this material in the hands of as many people as possible. These people should be persons who are especially interested in this area of work this summer.

Council members, in many instances, are the most important people to reach. Therefore, as soon as possible, would you send us the name of one person in each community in your state who would be a logical person to receive this information. This might be the local chairman, the head of the education committee of a local council, or someone else whom you know. If you prefer, we will send you the packets for your office to mail. Either way, it is important to get this material out soon.

We hope this program, and the materials, are helpful to you. Any comments or suggestions would be welcomed.

VIA AIR MAIL

March [illegible], 1963

Editor
The Los Angeles *Times*
Los Angeles,
California

Dear Sir:

Please enter our subscription to the Los Angeles *Times*, for a period of one year, and bill us accordingly.

Thank you for your prompt attention in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary

/nm

Report to Nathan Greene, Intern Program Coordinator, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Washington, District of Columbia on our intern.

1. Our intern are pretty good. Most recently we are learning him to cut on lights. Our light hang on the ceiling with long strings hanging down. We are learning him to pull those strongs. (See photo)

2. Our Intern major strengths is his willingness to learn. He pull those strings real good.

   Our Intern major weaknesses is he are slow sometimes. He learned strings but he can't understand wall switches yet.

   You can tell the areas of development by looking at the photo enclosed. (The photo aren't too clear because our Intern hadn't turn on the light when the picture was taken.)

3. Our Intern experience in:

   Public speaking: He talk real good

   Administrative work: He move all the paper across his desk. Sometime
   he read but he always move that paper.

85 Staff Meetings: If we ever have one our Intern will come.

   Efforts and contacts with other agencies: Our Intern touch base with everybody.

4. Reading Assignments

   Our intern has stop reading. Now he are writing.

5. Our Intern major assignment.

   He got to learn them wall switches.

J. Paul Anthony, Jr. Chief SRC Intern Learner

Report to Gnathan Greene, Inturn Program Coordinator, GNAIRO, Washington, D.C.

From Algernon Swineburn Ulcer - GNAIRO-ERMF Human Inturn #4a-673 Group 2T

Re 2nd 1/4 report (note: other 3/4's coming soon)

1. Discuss and evaluate Major work assignment(s) of the past three months

   I are been so busy yanking strings all discuss practice ceased past three months - discuss distance going to hell - please suggest.

   Our Major don't work much - he have an inturn yanking his share of strings.

2. General staff meetings

   Our General don't work much either (see photo of Inturn doing Generals ceiling strings)

   Staff meetings are held and they are fun

   Inturn (me) go and clap and laff. I go when I are asked to.

   I are asked at the very beginning of staff meetings so I can yank the strings.

   I are learning but I can't do yet as good as my Major or General.

3. Work Sessions and Conferences

   I are very lucky to have a leader who are so kind and litrate. We feel the very same way about work sessions. We confer often - he tells me which strings to yank every morning - I do all he tells me. But I are having some trouble with wall hickeys. They are hard to pull. In fact, I pulled four this morning. I are keeping them in my pocket from the General.

4. Final Summery

   Both my Major and General are good supervicers. However, my Major are against discuss throwers. My General answered my question about discuss practice, but I didn't understand.

   Note: I hope if this be my final summery it not be too hot. I think after the summery comes the fall. Are I right?

A.S. Ulcer SY-SRC-GNAIRO-ERMF-I

MEMO TO: BC, NM, AND JS

FROM : SLW

RE : Change of Title

For your information Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr, who was Executive Vice President of Vermont American Corp., holds the title as President. It has been asked that you make the change on your mailing list.

Thank you.

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr., President
Vermont American Corporation
600 East Main Street
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Foundations:

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

This foundation has a great deal of interest in programs relating to race relations, contributes substantially to agencies working in this field and might be interested.

Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

This foundation has a history of interest in Negro education. They have done little to help agencies in the field of race relations, much to help Negro colleges. Inquiry might be made here first.

John Hay Whitney Foundation
111 West 50th Street
New York 20, New York

This foundation puts most of its resources into Opportunity Fellowships - generous fellowship aid to students"who have not had full opportunity to develop their talents because of arbitrary barriers, such as racial or cultural background, or region of residence." The possibility of fellowships to students in the University of Miami program, or of a direct grant to the University might be explored.

Reading File

Southern R Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: Agency staff accepting community assignments with Operation Compliance.

FROM: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council

We have been very encouraged at the general acceptance of the Civil Rights Law by places of public accommodations. And, we are sure your concern, interest, and work has been very helpful.

If you possibly have the time would you please send us as quickly as possible a brief report of events in your community. The following would be helpful:

1. General reaction of the community (white and Negro) including comments in the press and other media.
2. Reaction of city officials, chamber of commerce, and similar groups.
3. General reaction of places of public accommodations.
4. Conspicious holdouts and likely trouble spots.
5. Specific programs of compliance, especially programs you are involved in.
6. What we at SRC can do that will be of help to you.

We know you are very busy and hate to burden you with this request. But, we are getting many inquiries on what is happening community by community and it would be especially helpful to have your account.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: Community Coordinators who attended the Atlanta meeting, June 25.

FROM: Paul Anthony, Southern Regional Council

We have been very encouraged at the general acceptance of the Civil Rights Law by places of public accommodations. And, we are sure your concern, interest, and work has been very helpful.

If you possibly have the time, would you please send us as quickly as possible a brief report of events in your community. The following would be helpful:

1. General reaction of the community (white and Negro) including comments in the press and other media.
2. Reaction of city officials, chamber of commerce, and similar groups.
3. General reaction of places of public accommodations.
4. Conspicious holdouts and likely trouble spots.
5. Specific programs of compliance, especially programs you are involved in.
6. What we at SRC can do that will be of help to you.

We know you are very busy and hate to burden you with this request. But, we are getting many inquiries on what is happening community by community and it would be especially helpful to have your account.

To Whom It May Concern:

The Books for Equal Education Project of the National Student Association is, in my opinion, an excellent one. A number of groups and institutions in the South are in need of good volumes. These include colleges, community centers, and pre-school and tutorial programs. And, almost without exception, where the needs are greatest the resources are most limited.

Experience has already shown that quality volumes are available in large number. The supply and the need are without question and this project brings the two together.

It is necessary, however, to stimulate the giving of volumes, screen contributions to assure quality, have proper cataloguing, and effect a fair and efficient system of distribution. Without these safeguards, an otherwise excellent program is considerably reduced. This is a major contribution which the Books for Equal Education Project can make. And, the funds needed for this project are modest in comparison with the substatiel value of the end results.

The potential for this program is great and I recommend it without reservation.

Mrs. William Frey
110 Blackland Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brenna:

I was comforted to hear from Florence Robin that you all had a lovely dinner party and gay evening without my Messrs Raftopoulos and Gianakos; but I want to thank you again for trying for them and us and apologies for the mishap. I'm distressed they missed a visit with people like you, and that you didn't get to know them either.

Maybe, dear, some other time---after you've had time to recover from this exasperation.

Fondly,

Margaret Long,

M
L
/
m
P

MEMO TO: Ruth House Alexander

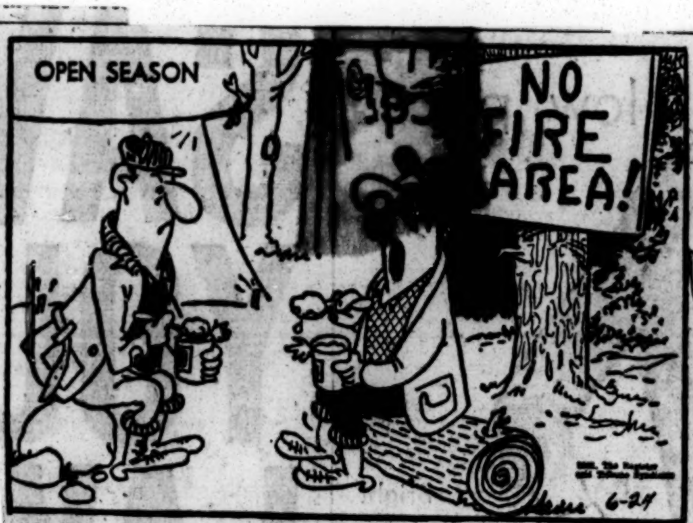
FROM: Jean Levine

IN RE: Honorarium for Robert Anderson

As Jim Moss mentioned to you this morning, Bob Anderson has completed his draft on the Atlanta Employment Study and is, therefore, entitled to the last quarter of his honorarium of $250.00.

He has completed his work in the past on the Houston, Chattanooga, and Miami Employment studies and has already been paid one-quarter of his honorarium for each of them.

Thank you.


OPEN SEASON
NO FIRE AREA!
6-24

"Cold cream of asparagus soup is not my idea of a tasty meal!"

File — Virginia

January 30, 197-7

Mrs. Nettie Young Jones
% Mrs. Roy Pafenberg
Box 844
Fort Clayton, Canal Zone

Dear Mrs. Jones:

We are exploring the possibility of your generous offer to be of service in human relations work following your return from the Canal Zone. All I can suggest at this time is that you write me when you return to the states.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SELECTED FILM BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Distributor's addresses are listed on final page.)

EDUCATION

1. "The Baltimore Story." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   An account of the processes followed in desegregating the Baltimore school system, which emphasizes actions taken by school officials to meet crisis situations.

2. "A City Decides." 27½ minutes, 16mm. Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films.

   "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was effected in the public schools of St. Louis."

3. "Clinton and the Law." 54 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films or McGraw-Hill Company.

   "A documentary based on the actual occurrences in Clinton, Tennessee, portraying the situation when desegregation was introduced and the community reactions to it," this kinescope of a "See It Now" telecast covers events through early 1957.

4. "Segregation and the South." 60 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films.

   "A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools... (and) in other fields." (1954 - early 1957.)

5. "Segregation in the Schools." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $10.00. Contemporary Films, or McGraw-Hill Company.

   A kinescope of an Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" telecast which "describes and discusses desegregation and public reaction in Southern communities."

6. "Wanted - A Place to Live." 15 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

A "story of racial prejudice and discrimination against college students," this film is largely concerned with off-campus housing discrimination but is "constructed for use in psychological research in field of social perception of ethnic differences."

EMPLOYMENT

1. "Commencement." 20 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   Deals with "causes and effects of racial and religious discrimination in employment."

HOUSING

1. "All the Way Home." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "...examines the confused reaction of a community when a Negro family stops in front of a 'For Sale' sign...objectively explores the contagion of unreason and the guilt and other feelings which are barriers against a solution of the integration problem."

2. "The Burden of Truth." 67 minutes, 16mm. Apply to Anti-Defamation League, National Office, for availability and rental information.

   "A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and prejudices--that the young Negro faced in growing up."

3. "Crisis in Levittown, Pa." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "Laced with a searching narration...these interviews...actually catch a whole community in turmoil during a moment of crisis."

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS

1. "To Live Together." 32 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   "Examines American 'race problem' through eyes of a group of children at an experimental summer interracial camp."

2. "Brotherhood of Man." 10 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50 flat price of showings in Southern Region.)

"Animated color cartoon which presents in a humorous and entertaining way the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike." (Adult level.)

OTHER

1. "Face of the South." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $1.50. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Office or United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

   A discussion, with graphic illustrations, of factors affecting the economic and social development of the South. (Based on George Mitchell's famous "map talk.")

2. "Report From Alabama." 27 minutes, 16mm. Contact Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office for rental and availability information.

   A kinescope report, first produced on television, on denials of suffrage rights in Tuskegee and elsewhere in Alabama, culminating in the 1958 Civil Rights hearings.

ADDRESSES OF DISTRIBUTORS

1. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Office
515 Madison Avenue
New York 28, New York

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southern Regional Office
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta, Georgia

3. Contemporary Films
13 East 37th Street
New York 16, New York

4. Dynamic Films, Inc.
Department H
405 Park Avenue
New York 22, New York

5. McGraw-Hill Company
Text Film Department
330 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Jackson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

Because of the deep concern of all of us about the education of Georgia's children, we feel it is well for "The Fellowship of the Concerned, Georgia Women Concerned about their State," to come together for prayer and study.

The date - February 19th

Place - The Library of the Y.W.C.A.
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sessions - 2 p.m. to 4:30 and
7 p.m. to 9:00

Dr. Claude Thompson of Emory will lead our two worship services as we seek guidance and strength "for the facing of these days."

We will have some legislators with us to interpret the action of this 1959 session. Mrs. Fred Patterson will lead the discussion.

All members of the Board of Directors of the United Church Women of Georgia are invited and urged to attend. They will be already for their workshop the next morning which will be held in the same place - the library of the Y.W.C.A.

To those who do not live in Atlanta, expenses for Hotel accommodations for the night of the 19th, travel and meals will be paid. We are, however, asking that two share a hotel room.

The challenges of the times are great! How God is calling us! How He is trusting us! Not in our might or power but in His spirit and His strength we will not fail.

Sincerely yours,

lec

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

FLYING Magazine
Ziff-Davis Publishing Company
366 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please forward one (1) copy of the January 1958 FLYING to me in care of the above address. Bill the Southern Regional Council for charges.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Anthony

From: B. C. Cook

Re: Distribution of Dabbs' book

Eight (8) books (SOUTHERN HERITAGE) were sent to Nat Griswold, Exec. Dir, Arkansas Council on Human Relations on 1/19/59 as per request of Paul Anthony and /or John Constable.

(Invoice to be sent by Paul Anthony)

SEASON'S GREETINGS, UNION STYLE

by Alton Levy

Toot your trumpet; roll your drum;
Blow through your harmonica;
Christmas comes but once a year
And -- so does Hanukah!
Sol, holiday greetings, one and all.
The giants of labor and even the small.
To men of faith and men of reason,
We send greetings of the season.

A giant wish we send George Meany
(To the NAM, a teenie-weenie),
William Schnitzler, Walter Reuther
(Oh, for a lbor chief named Luther!)
Hayes and Carey, then, in turn
David McDonald, Joseph Beirne,
Dave Dubinsky, Emil Rieve,
Potofsky, Birthright, Ethel Levy*.

McFetridge, Curran -- the list will grow, man
Harrison, Randolph, Peter Schoemann,
Knight and Keenan, Minton, Lee,
Raftery, Hutcheson, Doherty.
Phillips, Feller, McGowan, Bates,
Buckmaster, too, a greeting rates,
Walsh and Suffridge complete this band
Known as labor's "high command."

They've set in motion -- hence our thanks
A drive to cleanse all unions' ranks.
But, with the crooks we must equate
The bigot, spreading racial hate,
For twisted racist, like the hood,
Can do the workers no real good,
Since, both immoral, both obscene,
Want unions neither strong nor clean..

To reach the grimy goals they seek,
They want the workers split -- and weak.
The meance facing us is twin --
The foe outside and one within;
And who can say which danger's greater
Internal fink or labor-hater?
No need, of course, for feeling frightened
Since union members, once enlightened,
Will use their power and their brains
To save their many hard-won gains.

So let us pledge, in '59
To fight corruption's dark design
And let us raise our voices high
To praise all who really try
Throughout the year -- not just at Yule-time
To make each work day Golden Rule-time
For if you do -- and you -- and you
Our fondest dreams will all come true
Man's hate for man will quickly cease;
We'll have a world of joy and peace.

---

* She's my cousin.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: Personnel Committee

From: Mrs. Ruth H. Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

and

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

Re: EMPLOYEE BENEFITS

:

At the request of the President of the Council, the two above-named staff members have prepared the following report of possible employment benefits which might be made available to the staff. From time to time, representatives of retirement programs and the like have called on the Council and a portion of this brief summary represents the staff's experiences in considering the programs which these representatives have offered. With the exception of a Council-sponsored retirement program, all of the benefits mentioned would, in the opinion of the staff, be appropriate and desirable.

(1) Blue Cross and Blue Shield Medical Insurance:

Each member of the staff is now covered by Blue Cross and Blue Shield. Each new staff member is given an opportunity to join this program. At present, each individual pays the cost of participation. It has been determined that many agencies and most business and industrial firms make these or similar programs available to their employees without cost. If the Council assumed this practice the approximate annual cost would be $600.00.

(2) Staff members have given some thought to a program of term insurance for the amounts of $10,000 for each of the members of the professional staff and $4,000 for each member of the clerical staff. This, in the opinion of the staff, would constitute an especially desirable benefit. Such

a benefit is considerably less in cost and coverage than a normal insurance retirement plan and seems better suited to the nature of the Council and its personnel turnover. This benefit might constitute an attractive "extra" for potential employees. Approximate annual cost: $800.00.

(3) Reserve Fund:

While it is unlikely, there is always some possibility that the Council might have to cease operation on short notice. In such an event, the staff would, of course, be dismissed. To meet this possibility it might be wise for the Council to have a reserve fund from which the staff could be given a three-month salary advance. In this way, staff members would have an appropriate time during which employment could be sought without undue hardship. A reserve fund of $25,000 would meet this need and provide sufficient resources to meet all outstanding obligations. In addition, such a fund could also be used, after appropriate approval, during any financial emergency.

Funds are not now on hand, nor is it likely in the foreseeable future that such funds will be available. However, with authority to do so, the staff could begin such a fund when possible and add to it as conditions permitted.

(4) Serious study has been made of several insurance retirement programs. In addition to the substantial cost, there seem to be two main objections to this type of benefit: (a) those staff members who would be most intemested have made and prefer to make their own arrangements; (b) the Council does not offer the long-term stable prospect of employment which might be expected from a more established type of organization such as a college or university. The cost of any type of retirement program - depending of course on the extent of such a program and the proportion of the total cost assumed by the Council - would run to a minimum of several thousand dollars per year. It is likely, under these conditions, that the Council and the individual staff members would receive more benefit in terms of job attractiveness, longevity of employment, and real

compensation from direct salary increases. This is not to say that the staff recommends general salary increases in addition to the possible annual increments already in force. However, if the Council desired to increase the staff budget, direct salary increases would be preferable to possible retirement programs.

- : -

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

For some years, Southern women, leaders in church and labor fields, have come together to face social issues that confront the South. These women are selected by their own over-head organizations. We call ourselves "The Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Women Concerned About Their South."

This is a definite part of the program of the Southern Regional Council. We are inviting you to participate in a workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at:

Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
October 16-17, beginning at 11:00 a.m. on
the first day and closing after lunch
on the 17th.

Fortunately, we have funds to cover your travel and entertainment. Enclosed you will find some sheets that give a brief resume of the workshops of the past. This year we will face the fears that grip our South over the social changes upon us, the new Civil Rights legislation, spend some time in terms of the Declaration of Human Rights and its Tenth Anniversary.

We would like to hear from you presently and if for any reason you find you cannot be with us, we would appreciate it, if you would suggest some one to be invited in your place.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec
Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 25 copies of the Voter Registration booklet to:

Mr. Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P.O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

The lable is attached.

Many thaaks.

MEMO

TO: Bernice Cook

From : Penny Corbett

Here is the 7 page report that Nobbie memtioned. Would you also please run off 50 copies of this? (VEP annual report).

TO:
Bernice Cook

Please run off 50 copies of *Know Your Georgia Government*.

Many Thanks.

Marvin Wall

MEMORANDUM

TO: Janiet Smith

FROM: Marvin Wall

At the meeting of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, I sat next to the librarian from the University of Virginia. He suggested that it might be useful to put the Charlottesville Public Library on the Southern Regional Council's library mailing list. The address is :

McIntire Public Library
Charlottesville, Virginia

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Boone

FROM: Marvin Wall

Penny Corbett and I have returned your summary of the advisory committee meeting, and it is fine. However, Penny felt--and I agree with her--that the part about women's work tends to be too cautious and solicitous about the part women could play. As Penny put it, we had "some reservations" about that part of your report.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

At your earliest convenience please run off 500 additional copies of What Happen in the South 1966.

Atencils are attached. Many thanks.

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

We have heard of your organization's proposal to provide educational services to local unions in the South. Education would help locals like ours a great deal.

We would be interested in hearing more about your proposal and how it might help train leadership and assist us in taking a more active part in community action.

Yours very truly,

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

Your proposal for disadvantaged unionists has come to our attention. We think it offers an important opportunity to develop union leadership, to strengthen our organizations, and to assist them in providing competent leadership in community a action programs.

We trust you will be successful in getting these programs underway in our region and that you will be in touch with us as your project develops.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joe Mire, Director
National Institute of Labor Education
1911 "F" Street
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Mire:

We understand that you are planning a project to work with disadvantaged union people in the South. You must know how much we need education to help our leaders and members. We don't have many chances for educational help.

Good training could make a difference in helping our unions and our people so that they could be more active in working on community problems.

Will you let us know when you get your project started?

Sincesely,

MEMO

TO: RHA
FROME: VEP

Please order 35 reams of 20 weight mimeograph paper. Thank you.

NOTES TAKEN FROM SEN. HORACE WARD REGARDING SEMINAR FOR STATE LEGISLATOR.

EXPERT

Some Topics - Suggested

1. Welfare Laws and Rights.

2. Criminal Law, Prisons and Justice. (Reforms)

3. Workmen -- Rights and Benefits.

    2. Minimum Wage
    B. Workmen Compensation & Unemployment Benefits
    c. Safety Requirements

4. Representing the Poor

5. State - Federal Relations

POLITICIANS

1. Political Organization State & Local

2. Public employment of minorities

3. Being an effective law maker

4. State-by-State Report

Reading File

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please add the following name to our mailing list under the media category:

Mrs. Terry Drucker
Time-Life Book Division
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020

Many thanks.

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Edwin Stanfield

Miss L. Frances Jordan, 2411 Stafford Avenue, Raleigh, N.C., whom I met at the Mid-Decade Conference in Washington and who works for the N.C. Extension Service, is concerned about the impact of school desegregation on families in rural areas. Specifically, she would like a reassuring pamphlet to distribute to parents on dealing with what happens to the children in integrated schools. She thinks she could get funds to have such a thing published if we or someone else could help find factual material and help with the writing. Do you think this might be worth pursuing?

Incidentally, Miss Jordan has attended annual meetings of the NCCHR and she reads New South. She like the new format.

TABLE 1

Number and Per Cent Distribution of Non-white and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits of Atlanta, Georgia, 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits	Per Cent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Non-white	232,169	186,464	45,705	80.5
White	785,019	300,991	484,028	38.3

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960.

The situation is getting worse. While the 1960 U. S. Census figures and the April 1965 estimates of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission show a significant rise in the total population for the Atlanta area, they also show a slight decline in the humber of white city residents and relatively large increases in Negro city residents. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2
Population of Atlanta

	1960*	1964**	1965***	Net Change 1960-65
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	+ 17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	- 16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	+ 33,417

*U. S. Census, 1960.
**Estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission (ARMPC).
***Source: Computed by SRC from census tract estimates of ARMPC.

MEMORANDUM

TO: PAUL ANTHONY

FROM: EMORY VIA

Now that we have taken to "dictating", where the hell is the electrical outlet?

Never Satisfied!

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 50 copies each of "Know Your Rights" and "Know Your Georgia Government" to Mrs. Amis in Carrollton. Labels are attached. Many thanks.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Marvin Wall

Please send 1,500 to 2,000 copies of the minimum wage booklet and 500 copies of "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign" to Bill Towe at the North Carolina Voter Education Project. Labels are attached. Many thanks.

cc: Bill Towe

MEMO

TO: BOB ANDERSON

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH

Mrs. Catherine King, 11385S. Rio Vista, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 33316, is to write you concerning some data she has which I felt could be material for a "short" in the New South. Perhaps a note from you to her might expedite this matter. I thought Ed Stanfield would be interested in her dope when you get it.

MEMO

TO: AL ULMER

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH

Do you know of any 35 mm. slides of the Wheat Street Housing Project which I might obtain for Mr. Hibben in Ft. Lauderdale? Thanks!

DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES

During this quarter the field director has attended at least one function of each of the ten state councils on human relations. This travel helped to acquaint him with the several organizations.

Inauguration of the expanded grant-in-aid program made possible by our $300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was one of the significant tasks of the quarter. General conditions for recipents, prepared by the field director, stress growth and self-sustenance by the state councils.

Another major concern of the field director has been to establish a staffed operation in Louisiana. To this end the New Orleans Community Relations Council has affiliated with the state council and a decision has been made to locate the LCHR office in Baton Rouge. A search fof a director has started.

An "Experience Report" requested by the U.S. Conference of Mayors was assigned to the field director. It is a study of positive actions by municipal officials to improve human relations. The report is near completion.

The field department has cooperated with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and private agencies in planning ten state-wide conferences on school desegregation. The first was held in Louisiana on March 26 with 750 participants. Others will be on successive Saturdays in April and May. S.R.C. secured a grant of $8,000 to obtain resource persons and provide travel expenses for participants in these conferences.

Other activities include the usual duties connected with SRC's functioning as the secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, attendance at a regional consultation of the National Social Welfare Assembly in New Orleans, speeches at two local councils, "trouble shooting" trips, and efforts to help the North Carolina and Alabama councils find directors.

THE LABOR PROGRAM
# of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Brief Background

Funding and Staff. During the spring of 1965 the National Institute of Labor Education and the Southern Regional Council cooperated in seeking foundation funds for sponsoring educational programs with intermediate union leaders in the South. A proposal went from the National Institute of Labor Education, with SRC as the cooperating and executing agent, to the Taconic Foundation. On August 2, 1965 SRC received a grant of $30,000.00 for the performance of this program over a two year period from Taconic. Subsequently, on November 9, 1965, further monies were allocated by the Ford Foundation for a similar program as a part of an over-all project grant to the SRC. The basis of the proposal to Ford for union educational work was similar to that embodied in the original NILE proposal.

What was Proposed. In general terms, it was proposed that human relations institutes -- short run labor education programs -- would be run with intermediate union leadership in the Southern states. The allocated funds were primarily for administrative and promotional costs. Other costs were to come from the labor movement, fees charged, or other sources. Further provision was made for materials preparation and for speaker training programs.

The Program in Operation

Staff. The program is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Mr. Via served as labor consultant to the

Council in 1957 and 1958. Miss Joan Browning serves as administrative secretary to the Labor Program and performs some research and related duties. A list of *ad hoc* teachers suitable for use in the Program's activities is being developed. The SRC staff and research materials are available to the Labor Program.

Advisory Committee. An advisory committee is being established. It will consist in the first instance of the members of the Council who are labor connected, a representative from NILE, and the head of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office. The committee may be expanded to include others who can serve effectively the needs of the program. Such expansion will come through consultation with the Committee and the approval of the Council's director. The labor connected members of the Council are:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO,
Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO,
Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO,
Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO, and
James Youngdahl, labor attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

To this group would be added Joe Mire, Executive Director, NILE, and E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office.

Program Promotion. The first line of approach to program is through the various state labor bodies. The attempt is to sound out their interest in sponsoring an institute of human relations, to get their suggestions of local labor bodies who have needs or interests that might be served by an institute, to get suggestions of local or regional unions that might be receptive to the institute idea. Each of these groups will also be solicited for the kinds of problems which they feel they face with which the project might offer assistance. Similarly, they will be asked for important happenings involving racial relations, negative or positive, which might be suitable for case studies.

Beyond the above, contact will be maintained with national union offices. Special attention will be paid to those with education and civil rights programs. Close relations will be maintained with the Education and Civil Rights Departments of the national AFL-CIO.

Program Content. In general, the subjects covered by the various activities of the Labor Program will contain some mixture of the following areas: background and perspectives on the South; civil rights laws; civil rights movement; union and community racial relations; understanding the nature of prejudice and concepts of "race"; Southern economic, social, and political developments; Southern union history; and regional problems and prospects for organized labor.

Instruction will be geared to the level of understanding and experience of those participating in a given program. Among the primary purposes of the program are the following: to create new understandings; to shore up the good positions held by many Southern unionists; to explore and demonstrate techniques for the solution of problems; to assist unions and their leaders to come more fully into a constructive, contemporary democratic society. Informed and sensitive instructors will make the judgment as to when to rely on simple facts, human interest interpretations, the requirements of self interest, coaxing, or forthright challenge.

Program Format. The educational approaches used by the Labor Program are varied. A main emphasis is placed upon developing one to five day ~~human relations institutes~~ (perhaps usually going by some other name). In the main these institutes will concentrate almost exclusively on the kinds of subjects detailed in the preceding section. But we will attempt some general interest institutes into which the human relations content is introduced as an integral part. Such institutes may be either residential or non-residential, drawing from a local area.

The program utilizes activities sponsored by the labor movement, or others, where our interests can be built beneficially into what has already been planned. Two such examples come readily to mind. One is participation in a week long staff training program for the regional I.L.G.W.U. in January, and the other is teaching in a summer school such as the Kentucky Labor School scheduled in July. Other programs of this sort include participation in the Fisk Race Relations Institute in July and in weekend educational conferences such as those to be sponsored by the Virginia AFL-CIO in March and April.

In some instances speaking engagements will be considered a part of the overall program. This would be true, for example, in the scheduled regional meeting (under local sponsorship) of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta in March.

The Labor Program will assist, where feasible, in relating unions and civil rights groups to each other. This process is underway. The activities which support such an effort may be as varied as the recent assistance to a union and a local N.A.A.C.P. branch in finding a workable solution to a mutual problem, to relating to student groups or to working with local or state councils on human relations. Specifically, on this latter point work has been done with the Atlanta, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama Councils.

Programs run by government and related agencies provide a further way of involving union leaders in existing programs. Such activities at times can be encouraged by the Labor Program. They can prove to be a valuable means of educating through information and exposure. Conferences in the fall in Atlanta and Savannah relating to Title VII provided a beginning opportunity for such activity. A workshop session in Atlanta in January with national and regional staff from the EEOC was also useful in this regard. In these particular efforts, and others, the Labor Program has cooperated with the southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Later in March a regional program by the Labor Department will explain the training, enforcement, and technical programs of the Department as they relate to disadvantaged persons. The program will be attended by civil rights workers, representatives from disadvantaged groups, and trade unionists. It will provide an opportunity for questions and criticism in extended workshop sessions. The conference has been developed in cooperation with the Labor Program.

Functions sponsored by other agencies at times provide a good opportunity for expanding the experience or information of local or regional labor leadership. The same is true of activities sponsored by the Council or one of its other projects. For instance, in February seventeen regional labor leaders attended a lunch featuring Attorney General Katzenbach in a speech on voter registration and participation. The labor leaders not only heard the speech in a Southern setting but had an opportunity to meet with local and regional civil rights leaders and others concerned about voting rights.

The development of materials will come as a natural outgrowth of program activity. The various educational efforts will make the need for certain kinds of materials quite apparent. And the pursuit of program and program resource people will lead to useful materials which can be edited for our use. We are currently seeking such materials. In some cases we will be able to use materials in programs and give them pre-publication test. Possible case study situations are being collected. Several ideas for publications are now in hand; one is in manuscript form. On a modest scale we have already distributed some of the Council's materials which seemed to have special relevance to a given selection of labor leaders. This activity will continue to expand.

In many instances the training of speakers should be a by-product of much else that is done through the LaborProgram. In some cases it may be advisable to make speaker training a formal adjunct to another program. Some of the materials prepared under the program's auspices will be especially aimed at persons who are potential speakers. We are currently considering a proposal to run a pilot teachers of stewards training program in which about one third of the material to be covered would be directly related to the interests of the Labor Program. It could be that this form of teaching within the context of on-going union activity will have more meaning and get a better response than more direct approaches. Similar teaching and training situations will be tried experimentally.

SRC-NILE Relations

The Council has appreciated the opportunity to work cooperatively with NILE on this and other programs and hopes that such cooperation willcbe expanded in the future where it is to the mutual benefit of both organizations. It is mindful of the need and propriety of continuing contact with NILE regarding the human relations institutes and related programs for the two years of the Taconic grant. As agreed between SRC and NILE and stated in the request to Taconic, the direction of the program and its day-to-day decisions will be in the hands of the SRC Labor Program. NILE will be used consultatively and may be involved in relations with national unions and in materials preparation where these activities are appropriate.

The Council will pay to NILE $1,844.00 for each of the two years of the program's operation under the Taconic grant. The total for the two year period will be $3,688.00 which was the amount agreed upon between NILE's Executive Director and the Director of the SRC Labor Program. as appropriate for covering NILE's overhead costs in the development of the program. The SRC will not make a similar tap on the available funds. Services performed by NILE which go beyond what it deems a part of its overhead operation will be compensated by the project on a fee-for-services-rendered basis to be worked out in each case between the parties where such services are requested by the Labor Program Director.

How about a maps?

Could some of
the Census Tract
data be converted
to Ward data
for a broader
public's understanding?

Note sp. Collinson, p. 8

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEGRO RESIDENCE IN ATLANTA

Atlanta is fast becoming a predominantly Negro city as did Washington, D. C., some years ago. Atlanta's leading politicians now are fighting such undesired development. They also are attempting to annex Sandy Springs and possibly other white suburban communities. The annexation of white communities would not automatically change the separateness of the two races here, but it would dilute the growing Negro political power within the corporate city. The percentage of Negroes in the combined metropolitan area is holding steady at around 22 per cent, but the proportion of Negroes within the city has jumped from 38 per cent to 43 per cent in the last five years. Increase in the Negro percentage in the city stems mainly from the movement of whites to bedroom communities outside the city limits.

This racial shift is even more pronounced when it comes to the school population. The major portion of white families moving to the suburbs are those with children. While the number of Negro children in Atlanta public schools was increasing 20,000 during the last five years, the over-all number of white children was decreasing 2,000, according to Atlanta School Superintendent John Letson.[1]

This trend started about two decades ago when the Negro population began breaking out of a tight belt that cramped it in too little space in the central city. In the early years of expansion of the Negro community, the movement was mainly westward, the direction the city's political and financial determiners decreed. Negro and white real estate coalitions sometimes agreed on peripherial constructions such as cemetaries and public housing units which served as buffers to Negro expansion in undesired directions.

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[1] The Atlanta *Journal*, March 15, 1966.

It was clearly understood in the early 50's that Negroes were to have a corridor to the west for housing growth. The Butler Street Young Men's Christian Association and Citizens Trust Company, both Negro institutions, planned and later built west side branches. Negro real estate interests developed fabulous Collier Heights.

But even in some agreed-upon growth directions, some of the affected whites took matters into their own hands and resisted Negro encrouchment. Explosives were planted near several newly purchased, fringe area homes as late as the mid-1950's in the Edgewood and Bankhead areas, in the East and West part of the city respectively. Isolated instances of vandalism or violent resistance in more recnet years has been less serious.

Early movement of affluent Negroes to the West brought other action from nonviolent and more sophisticated whites. Though sometimes living on a common thoroughfare with Negroes, they tried to retain the prestige of not living on the same street with Negroes in some cases by changing the street's name in their area. Hunter Road, for example, became Mozley Drive, Chicamauga and Gordon Road west of Anderson Avenue. As Negro expansion creeped toward Ponce de Leon in the central Northeast area a few years ago, the part of Boulevard beyond Ponce de Leon was renamed Monroe Drive and the extension of Parkway beyond that barrier was renamed Charles Allen Drive.

Movement of a Negro doctor into the Peyton Forest area led to the errection of a barricade across Peyton Road to prevent direct ingress and egress of Negroes there and to deter further Negro housing expansion in that sector. This so-called Berlin Wall was installed with the political sanctions of white city fathers, but it had to be removed because of Negro political and legal pressures.

Whites in the Peyton Forest area and in some other communities organized to resist Negro encrouchment and offered to buy homes of those insistent on moving.

Before the courts struck down laws and policies excluding Negroes from certain "white" public swimming pools and parks, the creeping expansion of the Negro community left the alternative of abandoning some formerly white parks and schools now surrounded by Negro residents or of converting them for minority use. Georgia Avenue School on the East and Mozley Park on the West are good examples. Both were turned over to Negroes.

During much of the last decade, government activity has increased the population and housing change. Public construction such as urban renewal and highways have displaced thousands of families, according to information from various studies, reports, and proposed urban renewal and highway project projections. As reported by the Atlanta Journal on November 4, 1965, "Government activities have displaced 15,500 families during the past eight-and-one-half years, statistics show. From 9,000 to 12,000 of these families were in income brackets low enough to qualify for public housing. Yet during the same period from January 1, 1956 to June 30, 1965, only slightly more than 4,000 new low-cost units of housing were made available. That leaves a housing deficit of 5,000 to 7,000 units for poorer Atlanta families." Enforcement of the city's minimum housing code displaced approximately 2,240 additional families, according to the *Journal* article by Raleigh Bryans. Wayne Kelly!

Actually, the deficit was even higher. The figures do not reflect what is generally accepted as a significant population increase among poor Atlanta Negro families. The data was gathered from the 1958 relocation plan of the city of Atlanta, the city's Workable Program, Atlanta's Urban Renewal Status Report of June 30, 1965, urban renewal project applications and other sources, and may be questioned by some.

Since the bulk of those forced to relocate -- are of the lower economic rung, it becomes apparent that greater economic problems are created for low income families. Especially hard pressed are those Negroes of poverty menas who need, but are unable to qualify (some qualify but are unable to gain admittance) for the inadequate supply of public housing. Private Atlanta rentals run approximately 20 per cent higher than low-rent projects charge for comparable facilities. And developers have built few new homes in the city for prices less than $10,000. We suspect that the average lot within the Negro ghetto will cost $3,000 or more, and the high land cost tends to make construction of modest homes more expensive to buyers and less profitable to builders.

These facts suggest that special attention is needed for the housing problems of the poor, especially Negroes. The following pages of this report takes a hard look at Atlanta housing needs, the resources for supplying some needs by dissolution of the ghetto, the attitudes and availability of groups to work for solutions of housing problems, and an innovative proposal for solving some of the problems. The urgency of some action in this connection is signaled by the restiveness and violence of Watts in California and other errupting poverty pockets of the Northeast and Midwest. Even more important is the social degredation that ghetto living and sub-standard conditions create.

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READING FILE COPY

Samuel L. Adams

RESOURCES FOR HOUSING RELOCATION

As demonstrated in other parts of this proposal, a sizable segment of Atlanta's population has grave housing needs that frustrate the attainment of the "Great Society" goals. Ironically, these needs exist in a dynamic, fast growing city where housing resources outside the Negro ghetto are tremendous. These resources include a good supply of vacant houses of standard quality and the availability of basic community services (schools, libraries, health, fire and police protection) in the various communities where the housing is available.

While the 1960 U. S. Census figures and April, 1965 estimates of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission show a significant rise in the total population for the Atlanta area, they also show a slight decline in the number of white city residents and relatively large increases in Negro city residents. In 1960, Negroes in Atlanta represented 38 per cent of the city's population; now they account for 43 per cent of the total.

TABLE I

Population of Atlanta

	1960*	1964**	1965***	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	+ 17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	- 16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	+ 33,417

*U. S. Census, 1960.
**Estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission (ARMPC).
***Source: computed by SRC from census tract estimates of ARMPC.

Negro Housing Lag - Contrasting with the increased Negro share of the total city population is the lagging growth in the number of Negro housing units. Despite a drop in the percentage of whites in the total population, white housing units increased significantly (see Table II). This suggests a continuing shift of families with children to suburbia and a counter movement of childless couples and single persons into high rise apartments in the central city. At least one of these high rise apartments[1] in the upper middle-income brackets was built on land from which deteriorating Negro housing was removed in urban renewal projects, and some of the cleared land was converted to industrial use.

The pinch that this trend and the concomitant restrictions against open occupancy are making on Negroes is accentuated by removals from highway construction, renewal and other bulldozing in the Negro community and the accompanying increase of multi-dwelling units, especially along newly developed tracts near railroads in the Negro ghetto.[2]

Negro overcrowding - Evidence that progressive highway construction and urban renewal are among factors influencing crowding of low income Negroes is reported in the 1963 annual report of the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services. Entitled, "Appalachia in Atlanta," the report states that bulldozing for renewal and highways, generally considered progressive measures, have cleared land where some slums lay festering, but a result has been the pushing of many slum dwellers back to the fringes of the areas cleared, making their overcrowded conditions more crowded.

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[1] At least two Negro families live in this high rise apartment building constructed in an area formerly called Buttermilk Bottom. Rental rates put the facility out of the economic reach of most Negroes, for few can pay as much as $175 or $200 a month for rent.

[2] Examples of this are about a dozen multi-unit apartments recently built along Gordon Road near the Atlantic Coastline Railroad on the West Side. Most single units have four rooms, two of which may serve as bedrooms. Some families use living rooms both as a parlor by day and sleeping room by night.

This is not reflected in overall figures by U. S. Census tracts. Nevertheless, field trips to hard-core poverty pockets suggest increasing density of the poorest families. For example, the Welfare Department's report discloses that, " . . . for five years prior to 1960, 102 welfare recipients lived on Merritts Avenue, Northeast (adjacent to an urban renewal area), while during the last five years, 192 welfare recipients have lived on the same street" -- about a 90 per cent increase in the density of Merritts Avenue's welfare recipients.

Inspection of working maps reveal that the Ngero population, which represents 43 per cent of the city of Atlanta's total and 20.2 per cent of the metropolitan area's, occupies only about 20 per cent of the city's land area. The figures still show dense ghetto living for Negroes -- especially in low income districts -- despite the rapid pace of housing construction for both whites and Negroes. For those whose improving economic conditions afford them better housing, the trend seems to be reversing. This is reflected in the fact that new housing is keeping pace with population growth. It in fact suggests some relief.

TABLE II

Housing in Atlanta*

	1960	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	154,224	168,717	164,492	10,268
White	97,967	103,928	103,111	5,144
Negro	48,044	55,793	61,381	13,274
Vacant	8,213	8,996	9,040	827

*Source: Calculated from data supplied by Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Housing Conditions - While the overall quantity of Negro housing units is inadequate and the Negro's proportional share of land use falls far below Negro population percentages, a more important problem is the condition of housing in the Negro ghetto.[1] In a study commissioned by Atlanta's Community Improvement Program (known generally as the Urban Renewal Program), a firm of private city planning consultants, in an unfinished report, finds that when data relating to condition of housing is introduced, Negro housing balance is out of kilter.[2]

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[1] Some of the census tracts in the corporate city of Atlanta are not contigious with the city limits. There are 10 of these split tracts at the edge of the city. They include F-77 through 79; F-81 and 82; F-98; and F-100 through 103. For population breakdown within the city, we have used the city-county estimates of all the split tracts. For economic data and housing listings, including vacancies, we have used the estimates of whole tracts which roughly represent the city completely, omitting three of the split tracts (F-101 through 103) and including the other split tracts in their entirety.

[2] This report is being developed under the direction of the Atlanta Planning Department, with the help of private research consultants Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates.

The 1960 U. S. Census reports 46 of each 100 Negro homes surveyed were deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacked amenities. When applied to the total of Atlanta Negro housing, this suggests that 28,235 Negro residences are substandard, in one degree or another.

According to "Appalachia in Atlanta,"[1] "The physical condition of the shelter occupied by 54.4% of welfare recipients is classified as ranging from fair to very poor; 76.84% of them are living in unsanitary conditions and 55.08% are residing in housing needing renovation or repairs." (Plunkettown, near the city's south corporate limits, is a pocket of Negro housing with outside privies and slum dwellings.)

Housing Change - The movement of middle-income Negroes to standard housing outside the Negro area is overshadowed by the negative aspects of increased crowding of welfare recipients of which 61% in the corporate city limits are Negro.

"Of the 467,600 population Atlanta had in 1963," the report continues, "some 222,385 persons were living in 'highly concentrated poverty areas.'" These areas included 44 U. S. Census tracts covering 23 square miles. And every census tract in the corporate city limits and throughout the metropolitan area had families whose earnings were below the "$3,000-a-year poverty level."[2]

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[1] Annual Report of Fulton County Department of Children and Family Services, 1963.

[2] Of predominantly Negro census tracts surveyed, 26, or 65% have 30% or more families with earnings below $3,000 a year. Among the 83 predominantly white tracts within the corporate city limits, 13, or 15% have 30% or more families earning below $3,000.

Since much of the Negro housing expansion tends to be into low-income white fringe areas, other Negro homes are subject to deteriorate rapidly. This is especially true of borderline homes like those in Atlanta's West End and Kirkwood areas, and more recently, Center Hill, from which white families are moving.

On the other hand, some movement of Negroes into middle income districts like Peyton Forest, Audobon Forest, and the Cascade Heights areas of Southwest Atlanta provides above-standard residences and spacious lawns.

Working papers of Atlanta's unfinished CIP (Community Improvement Program) report catalogs the housing changes of Negroes by area in the table below.[1]

TABLE III

Change in Non-White Housing in Atlanta by Area*

Year	Central	W	E	S	NW	SW	N	NE
1960	35,256	4,631	2,061	3,249	1,954	456	270	167
1965	34,738	9,760	4,136	3,315	2,420	987	267	170
Net Change	-518	5,129	2,075	66	466	531	-3	3

*Three areas in the table increased over 100 per cent -- SW, 116; W, 111 per cent, and E, 101 per cent. The pattern of Negro migration is lateral -- East and West.

Vacant Houses and Economics - Scattered throughout the city, according to housing estimates of the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Council, there are some 9,040 vacant houses (see Table II). In addition, 11,732 are available outside the city limits but within the metropolitan area, indicating a total of 20,772 vacant units.[1] About 300 of these are in public, low income projects[2] which are, in the main, still segregated with 16 to 20 Negroes mixed in predominantly white projects. Ironically, the projects have long waiting lists and many poverty-stricken Negroes cannot qualify for such housing because they have no job, can't prove marriage, or for other reasons. All eleven of Atlanta's public housing projects are situated either within or adjacent to predominantly Negro communities. To some degree, they serve as buffers to expansion of the ghetto at some fringes of Negro sections.[3]

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[1] The table was prepared by Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates. Respective letter symbols are for west, east, south, northwest, southwest, north, and northeast.

To determine whether ill-housed Negroes could afford these vacant dwellings in the various census tracts, we know of no way short of actually surveying rental residences and earnings of potential Negro renters.[4] We do know, however, that Negroes tend to pay more than whites for comparable housing because of the artificial market created by ghetto barriers. For example, housing experts interviewed estimated that "other things being equal," a $20,000 house in the all-Negro Collier Heights district would cost about $18,000 in Chamblee, a white suburban area. Moreover, one substandard five room house in Atlanta's Vine City, a central slum district, was bringing its owner $120 a month by serving as the abode of more than one family unit.[5]

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[1] All of these figures are computed from estimates of each census tract by RMAPC.

[2] Atlanta Daily World, February 17, 1966.

[3] This is shown best by the location of projects in West End. Express highways, West View Cemetary and the lack of road access from Negro to white areas also serve as buffers.

[4] See attached economic data on Negro districts.

[5] Located on Markham Street, the five-room house has only one outside door and was constructed as a single family unit. It has one bath.

There also is evidence that some Negroes necessarily must decline job offers in outlying districts because they either are unable to solve transportation problems to and from the job or they are not free to move nearer.[1] This points to another obstacle in the complexities that tie housing and socio-economics together. Even the federal government, like some other equal opportunity employers, unwittingly builds a bias against potential Negro employees by locating plants far away from the population center where most Negroes live.

Conclusions - Neither the corporate city of Atlanta nor any governmental unit of the metropolitan area has laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Consequently, many of the persons displaced by slum clearance and/or other public projects such as highway construction and schools face heavy burdens in their search for standard housing. Many with very low income end up more poorly housed and often cramped by overcrowding after displacement. This is due partly to the building of a smaller proportion of homes for low-income and the limited availability of homes for large families, especially those needing three or more bedrooms. For large poor families, the city's oldest supply of houses offers best prospects for obtaining enough room.

Moneywise and otherwise, Atlanta has the resources for providing the needed housing. In 1963, Atlanta's retail sales reached

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Collinson

[1] Noyes Collins of the Atlanta Friends Service Committee said several unemployed and underemployed Negroes he contacted were unable to accept jobs near Chamblee because of transportation difficulties.

$1,618,757, up 75% from the $1,229,461 figure of 1958.[1] It has one of the nation's lowest unemployment indexes when compared with other cities of its size.[2] It has some political awareness of its urban problems and has commissioned studies to better determine a workable program for community improvement. It also has volunteer groups which have expressed interest in helping to solve problems.[3]

Since the bulk of the Negro housing migration is to deteriorating residences at the fringes of the Negro areas, change represents, in most cases, an extension of the Negro ghetto or the creation of new Negro enclaves. If the hypothesis is valid that the dissolution of the Negto ghetto is needed to undermine the roots that in-breed socio-economic and housing problems, it follows that a bold program of corrective mechanism is needed to break housing barriers. The entire metropolitan area must be included in the program.

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[1] Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

[2] Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen and the Atlanta Constitution.

[3] These include civil rights groups and other civic and religious organizations.

1961 FAMILY INCOME IN 109 ATLANTA CENSUS TRACTS

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
D - 1	$13,427	526	53	10.0
D - 2	10,287	629	80	12.7
D - 3	7,285	1,226	141	11.5
D - 4	5,649	1,082	229	21.1
D - 5*	5,593	1,607	299	18.6
D - 6*	3,603	1,309	603	46.0
D - 7*	6,280	816	112	13.1
D - 8	7,703	2,241	224	9.9
D - 9	6,890	2,176	221	10.2
F - 1	12,600	1,514	127	8.4
F - 2	8,968	1,702	216	12.7
F - 4	10,811	562	96	17.1
F - 5	13,981	896	89	10.0
F - 6	5,669	875	176	20.1
F - 7	4,908	428	128	29.9
F - 8*	4,374	1,217	405	33.2
F - 9	4,858	587	147	25.0
F -10	5,695	590	136	23.0
F -11	5,613	565	102	18.0
F -12	7,708	1,039	143	13.7
F -13	6,126	1,395	310	22.2
F -14	6,840	634	105	16.5
F -15	7,576	1,429	151	10.5
F -16	6,263	761	185	24.3
F -17*	3,735	1,646	777	47.2
F -18*	3,344	2,243	1,266	56.4
F -19	3,556	191	94	49.2
F -20	2,354	458	318	69.4
F -21	3,013	800	555	69.3
F -22*	3,240	1,202	687	57.1
F -23*	4,602	1,558	487	31.2
F -24*	5,085	1,386	414	29.8
F -25*	3,455	1,774	933	52.5

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 2.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 26*	$ 3,440	1,216	722	59.3
F - 27	3,375	56	26	46.0
F - 28*	3,324	795	452	56.8
F - 29*	3,948	1,084	443	40.8
F - 30	5,193	1,072	282	26.3
F - 31*	4,681	728	194	26.6
F - 32	4,047	773	312	40.3
F - 33*	2,610	1,104	774	70.1
F - 35	2,176	273	204	74.7
F - 36*	3,110	652	416	63.8
F - 37*	2,316	578	479	82.8
F - 38*	4,246	1,170	538	45.9
F - 39*	4,339	1,108	475	42.8
F - 40*	5,728	1,096	224	20.4
F - 41	5,554	1,101	243	22.0
F - 42	3,759	951	463	48.6
F - 43*	3,026	851	553	64.9
F - 44*	3,446	1,047	515	49.1
F - 45*	3,367	457	257	56.2
F - 46*	2,946	977	598	61.2
F - 47*	3,168	974	526	54.0
F - 48	2,880	767	499	65.0
F - 49	4,263	906	328	36.2
F - 50	5,335	813	220	27.0
F - 52	6,889	1,349	161	11.9
F - 53	5,282	1,395	372	26.6
F - 55A*	3,877	1,572	753	47.9
F - 55B*	3,408	1,415	816	57.6
F - 56*	3,708	1,335	599	44.8
F - 57*	3,787	837	345	41.2
F - 58	6,453	689	114	16.5
F - 59	4,774	379	130	34.3
F - 60	7,288	1,240	139	11.2

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 3.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 61	$ 7,559	1,481	162	10.9
F - 62	5,322	761	217	28.5
F - 63*	3,523	1,319	632	47.9
F - 64	6,293	531	54	10.1
F - 65	8,009	1,604	109	6.7
F - 66	6,545	1,502	228	15.1
F - 67	4,983	2,278	518	22.7
F - 68	9,881	21	0	0
F - 69	6,557	1,166	80	6.8
F - 70	6,858	2,139	183	8.5
F - 71*	5,193	497	109	21.0
F - 72	5,384	1,430	201	14.0
F - 73	7,306	745	69	9.2
F - 74	6,456	545	45	8.2
F - 75	6,641	1,452	184	12.6
F - 76	9,620	1,219	50	4.1
F - 77	8,250	1,419	156	10.9
F - 78*	6,372	1,552	263	16.9
F - 79	12,737	1,003	23	2.3
F - 80	8,812	1,861	163	8.7
F - 81*	6,570	1,141	233	20.4
F - 82*	6,497	1,261	168	13.3
F - 83*	4,857	2,168	470	21.6
F - 84*	4,987	1,181	285	24.1
F - 85*	6,521	1,613	233	14.4
F - 86*	5,295	1,738	373	21.4
F - 87*	3,370	1,945	1,028	52.8
F - 88	5,996	1,239	217	17.5
F - 89	5,912	1,708	276	16.1
F - 90	13,732	1,121	43	3.8
F - 91	13,768	1,387	85	6.0
F - 92	10,016	1,022	108	10.0
F - 93	11,245	1,605	118	7.3
F - 94	11,081	1,272	89	6.9

1961 Family Income in 109 Atlanta Census Tracts - 4.

Census Tract	Average Family Income	Total Number Families	Number of Families Earning Under $3,000	Per Cent of Families Earning Under $3,000
F - 95	$22,819	1,297	72	5.5
F - 96	11,964	2,412	207	8.5
F - 97	19,817	770	80	10.3
F - 98	22,164	1,322	103	7.7
F - 99	23,511	942	32	3.3
F - 100	17,980	1,937	88	4.5

*Predominantly Negro.

VACANT HOUSING UNITS BY CENSUS TRACTS*
1965 and 1960

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Clayton County		
CL- 1	74	71
CL- 2	120	100
CL- 3	434	253
CL- 4	280	146
CL- 5	79	56
CL- 6	190	171
Cobb County		
CC- 1	78	71
CC- 2	151	135
CC- 3	215	186
CC- 4	154	127
CC- 5	138	106
CC- 6	90	83
CC- 7	177	165
CC- 8	191	181
CC- 9	150	95
CC-10	302	220
CC-11	412	323
CC-12	154	133
CC-13	238	188
CC-14	108	81
CC-15	57	45
DeKalb County		
D- 1	9	9
D- 2	68	51
D- 3	61	61
D- 4	96	85
D- 5	90	238
D- 6	57	57
D- 7	36	31
D- 8	97	97

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*Vacancies in tracts D-1-9 and F-1-100 roughly estimate the number of vacancies in the corporate city limits of Atlanta. The total listing represents the Atlanta metropolitan area.

Source: Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Council.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 2.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
DeKalb County (cont'd.)		
D - 9	53	52
DC-10	226	187
DC-11	103	96
DC-12	187	116
DC-13	216	116
DC-14	279	153
DC-15	125	96
DC-16	292	150
DC-17	327	142
DC-18	271	154
DC-19	112	99
DC-20	215	112
DC-21	61	55
DC-22	75	70
DC-23	88	75
DC-24	437	241
DC-25	89	83
DC-26	112	106
DC-27	73	56
DC-28	34	33
DC-29	63	63
DC-30	5	5
DC-31	318	251
DC-32	66	55
DC-33	110	104
DC-34	241	183
DC-35	222	172
DC-36	184	85
DC-37	30	29
DC-38	105	94
Fulton County		
F - 1	50	49
F - 2	84	77
F - 4*	65	63

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*Original F-3 combined with F-4.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tract - 3.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	1960
Fulton County (cont'd.)		
F - 5	76	73
F - 6	63	63
F - 7	10	10
F - 8	69	64
F - 9	19	19
F -10	44	44
F -11	158	136
F -12	196	192
F -13	225	215
F -14	55	52
F -15	106	101
F -16	62	61
F -17	86	85
F -18	195	193
F -19	148	100
F -20	11	11
F -21	28	28
F -22	34	34
F -23	77	74
F -24	51	43
F -25	63	59
F -26	116	107
F -27	29	29
F -28	145	106
F -29	71	68
F -30	159	154
F -31	70	68
F -32	66	64
F -33	87	71
F -35*	26	25
F -36	55	55
F -37	4	4
F -38	42	41

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*Original F-34 combined with F-35.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 4.

Census Tract	Housing Units	
	1965	1960
Fulton County (cont'd.)		
F -39	40	40
F -40	26	26
F -41	120	118
F -42	79	75
F -43	24	24
F -44	84	76
F -45	69	92
F -46	72	100
F -47	50	50
F -48	87	87
F -49	77	76
F -50	51	49
F -52*	58	58
F -53**	84	84
F -55A***	65	62
F -55B***	37	37
F -56	155	166
F -57	33	33
F -58	33	33
F -59	45	43
F -60	62	38
F -61	56	56
F -62	56	56
F -63	62	62
F -64	55	55
F -65	69	69
F -66	70	69
F -67	104	99
F -68	0	0
F -69	33	33
F -70	177	252
F -71	92	87

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*Original F-51 combined with F-52.

**Original F-54 combined with F-53.

***Original F-55 has been divided into F-55A and F-55B.

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tracts - 5.

	Housing Units	
Census Tract	1965	1960
F -72	78	373
F -73	64	55
F -74	21	20
F -75	18	17
F -76	42	26
F -77	185	119
F -78	382	289
F -79	68	58
F -80	48	46
F -81	67	49
F -82	200	230
F -83	486	181
F -84	87	57
F -85	54	54
F -86	120	81
F -87	174	137
F -88	56	54
F -89	125	101
F -90	22	22
F -91	130	80
F -92	52	28
F -93	98	88
F -94	156	32
F -95	209	93
F -96	307	192
F -97	30	27
F -98	56	49
F -99	29	26
F -100	139	133
F -101	191	134
F -102	273	174
F -103	140	117
F -104	122	116
F -105	237	214
F -106	206	176
F -107	118	107
F -108	129	122
F -109	39	37
F -110	64	58
F -111	21	21

Vacant Housing Units by Census Tract - 6.

Census Tract	Housing Units 1965	Housing Units 1960
Fulton County (cont'd)		
F -112	233	209
F -113	139	105
F -114	102	93
F -115	171	176
F -116	41	35
Gwinnett County		
GC -1	199	166
GC -2	79	70
GC -3	264	245
GC -4	100	83
GC -5	179	161
GC -6	47	47
GC -7	180	169

ANDREW CARNEGIE

(1835-1919)

Steel Manufacturer... Author
Philanthropist.

The Carnegies came to the United States from Scotland when Andrew was 13. Though poor as a boy, Andrew amassed a fortune by middle age. Settling near Pittsburgh, his first job was in a cotton factory as a bobbin boy. His salary...$1.20 a week. At 15 he became a telegraph messenger boy in Pittsburgh. He taught himself to send and decipher messages, then took over as telegraph operator. He next joined the Pennsylvania Railroad as a railroad clerk, quickly advanced to train dispatcher, and then, at the ripe old age of 24, was appointed division manager. With profits from earlier investments, made while with the Pennsylvania Railroad, Carnegie entered the iron business in 1864. Nine years later, after viewing the Bessemer process in England, he built a plant to produce Bessemer steel in the United States. From this, other steel plants were established and all eventually merged into the Carnegie Steel Company to form one of the greatest industrial enterprises in America.

In 1901 he sold the company to the United States Steel Corporation.

Carnegie retired with a fortune estimated at half a billion dollars and devoted the remainder of his years largely to giving this fortune away. His philanthropic outlay of nearly $350,000,000 went to support education, public libraries and peace throughout the world.

JAMES J. HILL

(1838-1916)

Canadian Businessman... Financier
Railway Official.

Hill was forced to face the world on his own at the early age of 16 when his father died suddenly. Leaving his farm home near Rockwood in Ontario, Canada, he found work with a steamboat company in St. Paul, Minnesota. Later he became an agent for the Northwestern Packet Company and when he was 30 organized the Red River Transportation Company. This was the beginning of a series of enterprises that led to the development of transportation between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Northwest.

In 1878 Hill secured control of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad and, as its general manager, reorganized the system as the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company. This system eventually became a part of the Great Northern Railway which stretched from Lake Superior to Pudget Sound, Washington and was the first transcontinental railroad built without government help.

His energy and foresight in planning this important railway system turned an unsettled wilderness into a land of progress and prosperity and earned Hill the name "Empire Builder." And James Hill was not only a noted builder and operator of railroads, but a fine writer, an outstanding financier and a great philanthropist.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

(1839-1937)

American Capitalist... Financier
Philanthropist.

Born the son of a peddler, Rockefeller moved with his family, from Richford, New York to Cleveland, Ohio when he was 14. Two years later he found work as a clerk in a small produce firm. Shortly afterwards he formed a partnership in a grain commission house. And, at 23, with the profits from this business, he entered the oil field.

At that time oil production and refining were poorly organized and Rockefeller set out to make it orderly and efficient. He believed that central control was the answer and that the flow of oil products from producer to consumer should be under the direction of one company. In 1870 he organized the Standard Oil Company, incorporating it in Ohio with a capital of $1,000,000. Within the next two years the company gained control of all the main refineries in Cleveland, New York, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. From this he turned his attention to the building of railroad tank cars and an oil distribution system. With this accomplished he was able to organize, in 1882, the Standard Oil Trust. Eventually Rockefeller controlled practically all oil refining and distribution in America as well as a large part of the world oil trade. This was to make him, at one time, the richest man in the world.

Upon retiring from active management in 1895, he devoted the greater part of his efforts toward his many philanthropies. From that day and until his death, some 42 years later, he spent his time planning and establishing the foundations through which he gave away well over $500,000,000 for the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

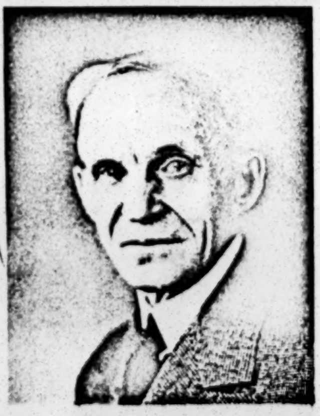
FRANK W. WOOLWORTH

(1852-1919)

American Businessman
Financier.

Woolworth started his business career, as a clerk, in a village store in his home town of Rodman, New York. Though he continued his connection with this type store all his working life, it was his forsightedness and keen business acumen that enabled him to change a small town variety store to the great world wide chain store it is today. It was while working for a firm in Watertown, New York that he suggested putting slow moving articles on a counter and selling them for five cents apiece. This proved an instant success... so successful that when it was carried over to new merchandise business boomed, six new stores were started, and Woolworth found he was a partner in the enterprise.

In 1912 he united his 581 stores with the 15 founded by his brother, Charles, to form the F. W. Woolworth Company... and the five and ten cent store became an official member of the American scene. One year later, with company funds, he built the Woolworth Building in New York City. It was to be the tallest building in the world for many years. By the time of his death in 1919, there were well over 1,000 Woolworth stores throughout the United States and Canada with annual sales of some $119,000,000. Today there are more than 3,600 stores operating throughout the United States, Canada, Mexico, England and Germany. All this the result of a "five cent counter" idea... an idea that not only made a family wealthy, but gave work to thousands and provided funds for the benefit of the indigent.



HENRY FORD

(1863-1947)

Automobile Manufacturer
Philanthropist.

Henry Ford was born on a farm near Greenfield, Michigan. He received his only formal education at the grammar school there before taking a machinist job in Detroit. He began experimenting with engines around 1890 and completed his first gasoline model three years later. In 1896 he built his first automobile. It looked much like a crude wooden box complete with a drivers seat, a steering tiller, bicycle wheels and an electric bell. It still runs today.

In 1903 he organized the Ford Motor Company and began making automobiles that only the well-to-do could afford. Later he came to believe that every man, regardless of income, should have the opportunity to buy an automobile of his own. His pioneering in assembly-line methods eventually enabled him to mass produce more cars at a lower price than anyone had before. The result... the inexpensive but incomparable "Model T." More than 15,000,000 of these cars were sold in the 19 years they were in production.

Ford gained national attention in 1914 when he announced that his company would share their profits with its employees, that the working day would be cut from 9 to 8 hours and that a minimum wage for all those over 21 would be set at $5 a day. A momentous step forward in employer-employee relations. But, when he suggested using most of the company profits to further expand the business, the stockholders rebelled. He promptly bought them all out and proceeded to run the company as he saw fit.

In his later years he established the Ford Foundation. This philanthropic organization has since provided more than one billion dollars to over 6,000 individuals and organizations throughout the world.

"The loss of honest and industrious men's lives cannot be valued at any price"

WILLIAM BRADFORD

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Emory Via

What sort of 'facilities' does the North Carolina Fund have which they offer SRC the use of? Would they include a small (or large) conference or institute site suitable for labor program activities? What costs, etc.?

MEMORANDUM

TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM: Emory Via

I saw your memo to John Wheeler re: movement's impact on poverty program.

Is there a follow-up in this for SRC? A possible article on the whole matter, or a "look-see" at bi-racial novelty committees to see if anything further has flowed from them?

Should we place this on Information or Research's agenda for future attention?

INSTRUCTORS TRAVEL EXPENSES

$ 186.80	Allen, Russell.
61.10	Henderson, Vivian.
106.30	Henry, Aaron.
94.51	Pollitt, Dan.
R[illegible]4.19	Ramsay, Claude. TO BE PAID TO MISSISSIPPI AFL-CIO.
______	Wilkins, Roy. To be submitted.

Expenses for Wilkins and Marshall charged to Center's hotel will be forwarded after receipt of University's bill. This does not affect the amount to be paid to these two men.

Miss Charlotte Williams
A Philip Randolph Institute
217 W. 125 St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Miss Williams,

Thanks so much for your note about a Rustin piece for us. We think we'd like him at any length, from 1,000 to 25,000 words——[illegible] or more, if he gets carried away with his ideas and expression, as we certainly expect to.

Did I tell him our next issue is in May, and that our deadline is April 1?

Sincerely

Margaret Long

via air mail special

Mr. Pete Page
c/o Mr. Melville H. Hosch
Regional Director
Office of Health,Education and Welfare
New Post Office Building, Room 712
Chicago, Illinois 60607

Dear Pete:

As you have undoubtedly determined by now, we simply could not get the enclosed material to you before you left town.

As it is, these are Zeroxed copies of our uncorrected proofs. I hope you do find it of interest.

In the report we attempt to say that we have all respect for the personnel at HEW, and we hope a proper understanding of the tremendous, almost impossible, responsibilities they have. Our criticisms which we hope are constructuve are aimed at procedures and results and certainly do not question the integrity of that office. I trust this is reflected in the report.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Dear Gerry:

The enclosed is for your information. I still think the situation has changed enough since last year to warrant your looking at it again.

Yours truly,

Enclosure: 1